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THE CRISIS.

THE saddest peculiarity of the present troublesome crisis consists in the universal dissatisfaction which has been excited by the conduct of political leaders. The loss and inconvenience inflicted on the community, as well as the graver evils by which it is menaced, might seem to derive their origin from an overruling destiny which superseded all the struggles of individual energy. While the House of Commons, sharing the convictions of all the intelligent classes, was substantially unanimous, the Ministry and the Opposition have, as if under an involuntary impulse, conspired to bring about a state of confusion equally repugnant to the wishes of both the parties to the conflict. At every stage of the recent proceedings, it was in the power either of one party or of the other to promote the interests of the country, and at the same time to secure its own eventual triumph, by the exercise of that ordinary amount of foresight which was shared by thousands of bystanders. The Government might have withdrawn in time from an untenable position; the more patriotic section of the Liberal party could have dictated the terms of an amended Bill; there was nothing to prevent Lord Palmerston from tendering in an acceptable form the advice which he thought proper to convert into an unaccountable insult; and finally, after the vote on the Resolution, Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli might probably have recovered their ground if they had been content to spare the country the torment of a general election. As they are probably by this time aware, Lord John Russell would have found serious difficulty in constructing the Cabinet which he had so long aspired to lead; and in the event of his failure, the Ministers might probably have remained in office, on condition of passing the moderate Reform Bill which Parliament has virtually expressed its readiness to accept. Unfortunately, the wisdom which is inseparable from courage and from public spirit has for the present departed from those who occupy the place of statesmen. Necessity, destin

Nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia—Nos te, Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, cœloque locamus.

One exception must be made to the general censure which justly falls on insincere and timid statesmen, wavering between the demands of patriotic duty and the dread of at once incurring unpopularity and allowing their opponents the opportunity of a party triumph. One principal in the contest kept his real object steadily in view, and a miserable object it was. Lord John Russell saw an occasion for uniting the Conservative party in a vote on a question which ensured its defeat; and although various contingencies might have baffled his calculations, he is entitled to all the petty credit which may attach to his actual success. If Mr. Horsman had commanded a personal following, if Mr. Gladstone had spoken earlier in the debate, or if Lord Palmerston had dispensed with the ironical form in which he gave utterance to his genuine wishes, the motion might probably have been defeated; but Lord John Russell knew his own mind, and the result has justified his uncomplimentary speculations on the balance of motives in the minds of his expected supporters. He may perhaps be excused for his farther belief that those who voted for the Resolution would have been compelled to abide by the obvious consequences of their own act, and to take office under the mover; but if it is allowable so to complete Chatham's aphorism, want of confidence is a tenacious plant, slow of

extirpation in an aged or in an experienced bosom. Partisans who may be tolerant of restless faction when it incommodes or destroys hostile Governments, cannot forget that the former Whig leader has never hesited to compromise, to desert, or to betray his colleagues. On this point even Lord Derby's copious biography of his opponent may be justly taxed with incompleteness. The sudden adhesion to the Corn-law League, the issue of the Durham letter, the first promise of a Reform Bill without concert with the Cabinet, were as distinct violations of party loyalty as the dismissal of Lord' Palmerston, or the famous escape, on the first appearance of danger, from Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet. The Whigs have not forgotten that their chief joined the Coalition without consulting his friends, while those who profited by his adhesion have since had sufficient opportunities of appreciating the value of the alliance.

If Lord Derby had resigned on his defeat, the general repugnance of statesmen to Lord John Russell's Premiership would scarcely have been accepted by the country as a sufficient excuse for the apparent inconsistency of a refusal to follow in office the recent leader of the Opposition; but whenever the question recurs, the future members of a Liberal Cabinet are henceforth fully relieved from all similar obligations. In accordance with his former habits, Lord John Russell has once more issued a political programme, of which, as he will claim the exclusive credit, he must necessarily accept the undivided responsibility. A 6l. franchise in boroughs, accompanied by a transfer of twenty-six seats, forms the latest bid for the suffrages of the Liberal constituencies on the part of the would-be patentee of Reform. It is scarcely worth while to discuss a project constructed only for a collateral purpose, or to point out how large a portion of the measure might have been extorted from the present Government, if legislation had been thought worthy to come into competition with faction. It is sufficient to observe that the unauthorized announcement of an electioneering cry once more replaces the greedy candidate for the lead of the Liberal party in the position of an unconnected adventurer visibly occupied in the promotion of his own personal objects alone. It will be the fault of his late coadjutors if their caprice or weakness ever again places them under the power of a confederate whom it is impossible to trust.

The decay of party may perhaps in some degree account for the anomalous conduct of one who was brought up to believe in it asin a religion. In the days of Lord Melbourne, when the Ministry and the Opposition were almost equally matched in the House of Commons, Lord John Russell enjoyed the merited confidence of followers who well knew that he would never prefer either private considerations or public interests to the corporate advantage of the party. In course of time it was difficult to give any definition of the Whigs, except that they were the adherents of Lord John Russell, and the leader gradually felt conscious of becoming in his own person the sole legitimate depositary of the true succession. The temporary predominance of Lord Palmerstox was resented as an unjustifiable usurpation, and the shepherd climbing once more over the wall of the fold probably thought that he was meritoriously relieving the flock from the intrusion of an unqualified hireling. As the sheep have, by choice or by accident, in one instance followed his guidance, it is not surprising that he confidently brandishes his crook and sounds his oaten pipe as of old. It will, however, be strange if after so long an interruption the former labits of obedience revive.

It is not necessary to deny that there may be a certain amount of sincerity mixed up with the faction and selfishness which have lately earned universal condemuation. By dint of brooding over the pleasure of passing a Ministerial Reform Bill, Lord John Russell has probably learned to believe in

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the possibility and expediency of Reform. The autobiographical turn of his mind leads him to regard the amendment of the representation as his proper function, and few persons are willing to think that the destined business of their lives is trivial, pernicious, or useless. Fiddlers and painters have a genuine respect for art, although it may be their immediate object to secure an engagement or a commission; nor are authors to be supposed indifferent to the diffusion of the knowledge contained in their works, because they insist on keeping the copyright to themselves. Having obtained an injunction against an attempted piracy of Reform, Lord John Russell is now prepared and willing to supply the genuine article on demand. The scheme which he put forth for the first time on Monday night may be regarded as a new and ingenious trade-mark which will render illicit competition still more difficult, whether it is set on foot by his accustomed rivals or by his former partners. It is neither desirable nor necessary to force assistance on a speculator who is so able and willing to concentrate his undivided attention on the duty of taking care of himself.

THE HISTORY OF THE SCRAMBLE.

Now that the country has been placed by the politicians who profess, on either side of the House of Commons, to consult its interests and to conduct its affairs, in a situation of embarrassment the most perplexing and the most uncalled for, it may be well to reflect on the causes which have led to a result so little desired by public opinion, and so deliberately carried out by public men. In investigating those causes, we shall, in fact, discover the real vices which lie at the root of the present habits of political thought, and the modern principles of political action. We presume to speak with some confidence on this subject, because, from the moment when the question of Reform was first mooted by the present Government, we ventured to predict the precise consequences which have already resulted. We have no hesitation in saying that the position in which the country has been so culpably and unwarrantably placed is due to the selfish and interested conduct of the half-dozen leading politicians who have been, from the first, bent on making the public interests the sport of their selfish ambition.

Before what we may now call the late Reform Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, we expressed without reserve our condemnation of the conduct of the Conservative party in attempting to prolong their tenure of office by dealing with a subject which was strange to their traditions and foreign to their sympathies. We pointed out that the relations of such a Government to its natural supporters must necessarily hamper them in the treatment of a question which did not legitimately belong to their political province. That this prediction has been amply fulfilled is now apparent. However ingenious the scheme of the Government may be considered, it has been pronounced, by a consent almost universal, to be inadequate and impracticable. But it was not only the faults almost inevitable in a project produced under such auspices which condemned it by anticipation to certain miscarriage. It is an operation proverbially perilous for an army to change its front in the presence of an enemy. If the Bill of Lord Derby's Government had been drawn by two angels from heaven, instead of by the Right Hon. B. DISRAELI and Mr. PHILIP ROSE, it would have been equally certain to be encountered by some "dodge" or other on the part of politicians who recognise no angels but those who minister on Sundays at Brooks's. Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham are not the sort of men to be "done" by angelic interferences. No doubt the right honourable baronet would have suggested to his noble friend that perhaps a resolution might be drawn which would operate as a special demurrer to the angels.

The Bill thus selfishly and illegitimately introduced by the Government was, with equal selfishness and even more irregularity, defeated by an Opposition intrigue. From the moment that the measure was brought forward we never ceased to urge the expediency and necessity of dealing with the original error so as to diminish, as far as possible, the evils which appeared to be imminent. All that was wanted to retrieve the situation, and to effect a settlement conformable to the clear wish of public opinion and the obvious interests of the country, was a little forbearance, a little magnanimity, and a little patriotism. Our knowledge of the characters of the men who lead the different sections of the Opposition unfortunately forbade us to hope even for that small modicum of those qualities, unhappily so rare, which the interests of the country

so imperatively demanded. By holding the Government to that acquiescence in Reform to which they had pledged themselves for their own interests, the leaders of Opposition, with the concurrence of the great majority of the House of Commons, might have settled this great and dangerous question in a permanent and satisfactory manner. But that was a course which, however advantageous to the public, would have postponed for a few weeks the party triumph of politicians burning to retrieve their Parliamentary defeats and to wreak their personal resentments. To men actuated by these considerations and impelled by such passions, the arguments of policy and the appeals of patriotism are alike unavailing. It remains only for such men in after years, in the midst of mischiefs which they did not choose to foresee, but which it would have been easy enough to forecast, to bewail, like Lord Grey and Mr. Horsman, with a vain regret, the consequences of blind and obstinate faction.

Lord John Russell deprecates in his address the imputa-on of motives. But when he says that the motives of tion of motives. men are not amenable to our scrutiny, we must remind him that he is contravening the fundamental principle of our law, that men must be taken to intend the natural consequences of their own acts. The part played by Sir James Graham is equally intelligible, and might have been predicted with equal certainty. That he would be in favour of a large extension of suffrage in the boroughs, and that he would speak with toleration, if not with favour, of the Ballot, any man might have known who remembered that on the hustings at Carlisle he uttered these words:—
"I never intended that the Reform Act was to be unalter-"able, like the laws of the Medes and the Persians, but I have "said, and I do say, that let who will propose the vote by ballot, "extension of the suffrage, and triennial parliaments, there are thirteen men in England who are not at liberty to support "those propositions, and those are the thirteen men who com"posed Lord Green's Cabinet." That Sir James Graham would
insist on the necessity of a large disfranchisement and an
extensive distribution of seats might have been confidently
predicted by all persons acquainted with the peculiar constitution of his political conscience, as soon as they learnt that tution of his political conscience, as soon as they learned the had said:—"All the great manufacturing towns are represented not virtually but practically; and yet the Radical "nostrums are pressed on as if nothing had been done, and I "am taunted because I will not consent to be hurried along the mathematical artheory of revolution and republicanism." Who "downward path of revolution and republicanism." Who taunts Sir J. Graham with inconsistency? Not we, at least—we should as soon think of taunting the winds with their instability, or the moon with her changes. But when we are asked to trust in the judgment of such men, to look to their characters with respect, and to their counsels with confidence, we say, without hesitation, that it is not such reeds shaken by the wind that the English people will care to go forth

Our fundamental objection to the Resolution "dodge" by which, as Mr. DISRAELI accurately phrases it, the discussion of Reform has been "intercepted," was that it pledged the party who combined to defeat the Government Bill to no definite principles, and gave the country no assurance of any unity of opinion or solidity of action. The real distraction which exists in the heart of the Opposition forces betrayed itself sufficiently in the debate, but it has, since the announcement of the dissolution, revealed itself in an open rupture. The scheme sketched out in outline by Sir J. Graham differed, indeed, but in an imperceptible degree, from the project conceived by Mr. Bright. The plan of Lord J. Russell is happily somewhat further removed from the principles of unmixed democracy. And we have now the consoling assurance that Lord Palmerston has as little sympathy with the ideas of Lord John Russell as any of the rest of his confederates entertain for each other's schemes. It is very well to set up a joint-stock company to carry on the speculation of Opposition on the principle of limited liability. But we never yet heard of a concern, even in political trading, in which the functions of the directors were ascertained by no Articles of Association, or in which the public credit was not protected even by the semblance of a Deed of Settlement.

Of all the public men who have taken part in this discreditable scramble, there is none whose conduct seems to us deserving of more heavy censure than Lord Palmerston. There are many men in the ranks of the late majority who regard with indifference, if not with favour, the progress of democratic principles. If we cannot agree in the ideas of these politicians, we can at least excuse their policy and com-

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prehend their conduct. That Mr. BRIGHT should rejoice in the event which he has assisted to bring about, we can easily understand. But it is impossible to acquit Lord PALMERSTON of having deliberately produced a state of affairs which tends directly to the triumph of a cause which his political convictions (if convictions can be attributed to him) condemn, and which contradicts the whole tenor of his public career. We believe that we gave last week the true explanation of the unjustifiable speech which he addressed to the House of Commons in the late debate. That his natural sagacity taught him that the true solution of the existing difficulty was the settlement of the question of Reform in the hands of the present Administration, we do not doubt. But with that levity of character which incapacitates him for the duties of statesmanship, he permitted considerations of personal ven-gennee and retaliation to over-ride the peremptory dictates of prudence and patriotism. We believe that he perfectly well knew, and was thoroughly convinced, that it was expedient that the Government should neither resign nor dissolve. Yet he could not so far master the instigation of personal spite as to restrain himself from employing language which we believe to be the principal and immediate cause of the present dissolution. The rash and ignorant defiance which he cast out to Ministers, daring them to dissolve Parliament, and insulting them into the rashness of despair, is, we have no doubt, the fatal spring of a course of action which every sensible and moderate man now recognises to be in the last degree mischievous. The lame and blundering apology which he has attempted for his unjustifiable words and still more indefensible tone, only exhibits a recognition, which comes too late, of an error which cannot be repaired. It is useless for Lord PALMERSTON to pretend that he did not deliberately for LOTG PALMERSTON to pretend that he did not deliberately threaten that, by his own power, he would refuse to the Government and to the Crown the right to dissolve the Parliament. His words were express:—"The concur"rence of this House is necessary to its own dissolution.
"I do not believe the Government would dissolve if "they could, and I believe they could not if they would.
"I cannot come to the conclusion that this House would in the Crown to the conclusion that the limit they would." " not, if the Government announced it to be their intention to " dissolve, be wiser than the Government, and feel a stronger "sense of the duty which both the Ministry and the Parlia-"ment owe to the country and the Parliament. I am of "opinion that the House of Commons would not lend its aid "to such a course." How empty was this foolish swagger, and how vain was this silly menace, the humbled manner in which Lord Palmerston has been since compelled to eat his words, sufficiently demonstrate. But we have no hesitation in expressing our conviction that it is to this piece of insolent and unconstitutional rodomontade that is mainly to be ascribed the desperate stroke on which the Government have resolved.

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

THE prospects of the election, the rumours which precede it, and the addresses of candidates on either side, all complete the demonstration that an artificial crisis has been wantonly created by the folly and selfishness of contending factions. The Ministerial agents who promised their em-ployers a gain of sixty or seventy seats are now contented to cackle over half the number, although their period of incubation has still three or four weeks to run. It is by no means certain that Mr. DISRAELI will reduce even by a single vote the array of opponents which he designates with mysterious tautology as a "numerical majority;" and even if he succeeds in altering to a small extent the ratio of numbers, he will find his opponents more ready to display their preponderance, or, in other words, to prove that they constitute the majority. The new House of Commons will be fresh from its pledges, sharply divided into sections or parties, and eager to prove to itself and to the constituent body that the mountain just beginning to repose from its travail has at least been delivered of a presentable mouse. The unmeaning vagueness of the issue which has been tendered to the object of exertion, Parliament will not fail to light on the obvious task of overthrowing the Government, and about the middle of July public business will have reached the stage at which it was unnecessarily broken off at the beginning of April. If the result of the election incidentally confirms Lord JOHN RUSSELL in the leadership of the Opposition, the Ministerial party will have little reason to rejoice in the termination of the Liberal schism. The election addresses which have been issued happily express the confusion which envelopes the Ministerial appeal from the House of Commons to the country. If an impartial non-candidate had any desire to make a profession of faith, he would probably adopt Mr. Disraeli's formula, corrected by Lord John Russell's equally undeniable statement, and illustrated by Lord Palmeston's appropriate commentary. It is as true that the Government was defeated by a "disingenuous manœuvre" as that "the sus" pension of the public and private business of Parliament, "and the loss of many useful measures, are evils of no "common magnitude." The comparative literary merits of the rival addresses correspond to the dates at which they were respectively published. Mr. Disraeli dashed off his indignant protest in time for the evening papers which anounced the dissolution; and afterwards, proceeding to the House, he delivered the mild and conciliatory speech which offered so remarkable a contrast to Lord Derry's electioneering philippic. Three days later, Lord John Russell produced a laboured composition, which is at the same time argumentative, epigrammatic, and preguant with immortal truths not unlike those which flow from the pen of the living Philosopher of Malmesbury. Finally, Lord Palmerston demonstrated, in a calm and elaborate narrative, the unjustifiable folly of a dissolution which he had himself provoked and precipitated. Among the numerous defects of the Government Reform Bill, it seems, according to Lord John Russell, that "one provision was conspicuous by its presence and one by its absence"—progrulgens quia non videbatur. In short, freehold votes were transferred to boroughs, and the Lol. franchise was maintained, with a tendency, as its original author pathetically observes, to leave "a hard "line of separation between the middle orders and those "three different courses," accordingly, "had their advocates "Three different courses," accordingly, "had their advocates "in the House of Commons;" but, after enumerating the

There are some fallacies which, assuming the aphoristic form ordinarily appropriated to truisms, command ready assent, until it is found that they admit of being inverted or turned inside out. Lord John Russell thinks fit, in the course of his address, to court the supporters of the Ballot by an overture which, as it requires no sagacity to see through it, might well make charity itself suspicious. "I "am in favour of publicity," says the candid champion of constitutional reform, "as in the end most conducive to "freedom of thought and action. But I honour the aim "and object of those who support the Ballot, and I wish, "like them, to check intimidation and corruption." The "motives which inspire" such declarations we can understand; but their "tendency" we cannot, until we learn whether it is for Lord John Russell's interest to maintain his former principles, or to purchase support from a new body of adherents by declaring that "the time is now arrived" for a

Much inconvenience arose from the casual and transitory nature of the question which the present House of Commons was elected to decide. The Chinese war, which had furnished the occasion for a dissolution, was never again brought under the notice of Parliament, and pledges of personal adhesion were naturally broken as soon as the idol of the hustings lost his sudden popularity. The approaching election will turn neither on persons nor on things, for every leading politician is justly discredited, and Lord John Russell is justlified in saying that two-thirds of the outgoing House of Commons were prepared to agree on the only important measure under discussion. It is idle to write election placards about borough freeholders who are no longer even nominally threatened with disfranchisement—there is no use in calculating the odds when the owner has publicly cancelled his entry. Lord Deepy may hereafter declare to win on any horse in his stable, except the unlucky favourite of 1859. For the present year he falls back on the Conservative policy of leaving things as they are, and

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the first trial of strength in the new Parliament will turn on the question whether a Reform Bill shall be introduced before the end of the session. Sir James Graham may claim the credit of novelty for his suggestion that the question lies between "a liberal policy or tame submission to Lord "Debey." On the whole, however, the country will scarcely sympathize in the ingenuous alarm which is excited by the

prospect of a Ministerial despotism.

There is only one party in the State which can anticipate any solid advantage from the election. Mr. Bright was in earnest when he expressed his satisfaction with an appeal from the comparative prudence and calmness of Parliament to the hustings and the market-place; and if he could have dictated Lord Derby's speech, he would probably have anticipated the abandonment of Reform, as well as the wildly indiscreet form of invective which was directed against himself. There is no reason to suppose that the advocates of revolutionary measures will gain many additional seats, but they may coerce timid and unprincipled candidates into dangerous pledges, through the pressure of a noisy and active section in every popular constituency. While the moderate members on either side of the House were exchanging admissions and hints of compromise, Mr. Bright felt that his object might at any moment pass out of his reach, but his reliance on the selfish obstinacy of party leaders has been amply justified by the result.

The only encouraging symptom in the general anarchy is to be found in the substantial unanimity and honest aspirations of the disinterested and reflecting portion of the community. In the absence of organization, moderate politicians can give but imperfect effect to the general wishes of the educated class; but their moral influence may in some instances be brought to bear on constituents, and a large number of the candidates on both sides really share their convictions. Numerous courtiers of the multitude, old political hacks, demagogues, and daudies, have been vying with each other in loud asseverations that they had confidence in their countrymen, and that they were not afraid of the working It would not be amiss that some candidates should venture to have confidence in themselves, and show that they are not afraid of talking common sense to the existing constituent body. Whatever may be said in public, it is absurd to suppose that manufacturers and tradesmen wish to abdicate their power in favour of the class with which they are most constantly brought into collision. It might also be worth while to give utterance to the general conviction that the rapid succession of resignations and dissolutions, resulting from the jealous ambition of the Liberal leaders, is ruinous to the best interests of the country. Under present circumstances it is scarcely possible, nor is it altogether desirable, that there should be a working Conservative majority; yet on the eve of the election Lord John Russell hurries forward with the programme of Reform which Lord Palmers forward with the programme of Reform which Lord Palmerston instantly disavows. Every member who may be returned as a supporter of constitutional Liberalism ought to enter on his duties with a firm resolution to ostracize, to the best of his ability, every Parliamentary leader who thwarts the efforts of his party to replace the Cabinets which he is willing to assist them in overturning. The choice of future Ministers must, in the course of nature, be thrown comparatively open before many years have elapsed. In the meantime, it is the duty of the Liberal majority to agree on the choice of a leader, and to insist on the steady submission of jealous and restless rivals.

LORD MALMESBURY.

A T a time when prudence as well as patriotism is in a state of suspended animation, few graver indiscretions have been committed than the announcement that Lord Malmesbury's continuance in office is indispensable to the cause of peace. The only excuse for Lord Derry's assertion is to be found in its utter and obvious inaccuracy. The ablest statesman who ever presided over the Foreign Office would have compromised his popularity if he had affected to exercise an independent and personal influence in the councils of Europe. A Minister of Lord Malmesbury's calibre is less exposed to public jealousy, and yet it must be remembered that a persona grata at foreign Courts may be acceptable only because he is justly regarded as a cipher. The American practice of selecting for important negotiations the most disagreeable diplomatist who can be found, although it has often proved successful, may perhaps hardly be worthy of European imitation. On the other hand, it is seldom desirable to employ

an agent who is perhaps liked because he is neither feared nor respected; or, if such a functionary happens to be tolerated in office, his friends are ill-advised when they unnecessarily boast of his peculiar qualifications. The Charles et Georges correspondence threw a double light on Lord Malmesbury's capacity, both by the singular ineptitude which it displayed in the actual transaction, and by the proof which it afforded that his share in the Cagliari despatches must have been confined to the simple process of attaching his signature. The country, entertaining a certain amount of confidence in Lord Debry's spirit and ability, has been content to acquiesce in the demonstrated absence of those faculties which his Foreign Secretary had never been supposed to possess. Even the prospect of Lord Malmesbury's participation in the Congress has been contemplated with equanimity; on the understanding that Lord Cowley will really discharge the duties of Chief Plenipotentiary—but it is too much for Æneas to rest his claim for confidence on the special apti-

tudes of Gyas or CLOANTHUS.

Any Government which could be formed would, in the present crisis, pursue the same objects which Lord Derby and Lord Malmesbury are probably desirous to secure; but it is of the utmost importance both to the maintenance of peace and to the effective use of English influence, that all the national convictions should be fully and impartially represented. On the iniquity of a French war of conquest all serious politicians are agreed, but the dangers of wanton aggression ought not to produce acquiescence in the unjust and one-sided pretensions of Austria. The rights and sufferings of Italy have attracted too much honest sympathy in England to be forgotten even in the just irritation which has been caused by the menacing armaments of France; and if Lord MALMESBURY negotiates only in the interest of the Great Powers, or of crowned heads, the public opinion which can alone give weight to his intervention will soon leave him powerless. Professional statesmen at home and abroad ought to have derived a lasting lesson from the abortive diplomatic efforts which preceded the Russian war. Singular and a province the working the Minister descired the state of the control of the cerely anxious to avert a rupture, the Ministers deceived themselves and their opponents till they were overpowered by the national feeling, which they might perhaps have regulated if they had not forgotten to consult it. A Premier of Foreign Secretary rule along a result of the secretary rule along a result of the secretary rule along a result of the results. or Foreign Secretary who shares, or is even commonly supposed to share, the convictions of his countrymen, can negotiate with an authority and with a certainty of unanimous support which no despot in Europe can command. A mere official representative of the Government, who has no sympathy with the feelings of the people, is powerless in diplomacy, because his colleagues soon discover that there is no security for the adoption of the policy which he recommends. If Count Buol were to succeed in talking Lord Malmesbury over so as to convert him into an Austrian partisan, he would find that, for all practical purposes, he might as well have made a purchase of Punch.

By acquiescing in the project of a Congress, Austria has brought the whole Italian question into the region of discussion and negotiation; nor can the insolence of France be any longer pleaded as a reason for obstinate refusal of con-cession. The weak point of Count CAVOUR'S case consisted in the obvious connexion between the urgency of his recent remonstrances and the formidable preparations of his ally. The oppression of Lombardy, the treaties with the Duchies, the occupation of Romagna, furnished no casus belli in 1859 which might not have been discovered in any previous year. As, however, the Great Powers, with the assent of Austria, have waived the preliminary objection, the whole question must now be submitted to investigation, and the English Plenipotentiary ought more especially to take care that full justice is done to the reasonable claims of Italy. In one of the ablest of his many powerful State Papers, published in the Morning Post yesterday, Count Cavour has set forth, with remarkable force of exposition and of argument, both the grievances which result, as he admits, from the operation of treaties, and the encroachments on the part of Austria which are regarded as violations of international law. As to Lombardy and Venetia, he allows that diplomacy is powerless, unless Austria can be persuaded to modify the treaties of 1815. The protectorate exercised over all the other Italian States, with the exception of Piedmont, involves more complicated questions both of law and As between Sovereigns and their subjects, the established code unfortunately permits unlimited defence of legitimate oppression, while it sternly prohibits the vindication of trampled human rights. Austria restored the King

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of NAPLES in 1821 by virtue of the same doctrines which sanctioned the march of the Russian armies into Hungary in 1849. This entire branch of international law is founded on the fiction which absorbs the State in the personality of its ruler; and it is at least reasonable that the license of interfering should be strictly construed, so that guarantees of tyranny may not be converted into opportunities for menacing foreign Governments. Count CAVOUR is fully justified in complaining that the frequent presence of Austrian troops in Parma and in Modena encircles Piedmont with a hostile frontier from the Alps to the sea. It may be difficult to determine whether the erection of detached forts in the neighbourhood of Placentia is an abuse of the acknowledged right of maintaining an Austrian garrison in the citadel; but Piedmont is at least entitled to find in the adjacent Duchies and in Tuscany safe and peaceable neighbours, instead of seeing their territories used as an extension of the Austrian positions in Lombardy. The French garrison at Rome is separated by Tuscany and by the Apennines from Piedmont; and, as Count CAVOUE significantly observes, the forces stationed in Provence and in Dauphiné would, in case of need, be more available than a contingent which could only be brought into the field by embarking at Civita Vecchia. The demands with which the Sardinian memorandum concludes have been often published before. Separate administration for Lombardy, practical improvements in the States of the Church, constitutional government in Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, and strict confinement of the Austrian armies within their own frontier—nearly all these measures have been repeatedly approved by the English Government; and Lord MALMESBURY will best express the opinion of the country by insisting on those parts of the Sardinian programme which may be regarded as feasible. There is no danger that any English Minister should countenance the unprincipled pretensions of France, but it is not unlikely that the par-tisans of war may still calculate on those Liberal sympathies for the Italian cause which the Government may have failed to take into account.

Lord DERBY and Mr. DISRAELI both asserted, with a curious indifference to accuracy, that the Queen was at this moment engaged in a mediation between two Great Powers, who have neither invited nor accepted any such act of friendship. The only pretext for the statement is to be found in the comparatively neutral position which England shares with Prussia, at a time when Russia is suspected of complicity with France. If the good offices of a disincomplicity with France. If the good shows terested Power are to produce any effect, there must be a display of active and impartial good-will, and not a mere passive protest against violent measures. There is unfortupassive protest against violent measures. There is unfortunately too much reason to suppose that all remonstrances will be useless against the deliberate ambition of the French EMPEROR, and in the event of a war it is in the highest degree important that the right of defending European independence should not be compromised by any indifference to the rights of Italy. It is well, perhaps, that Germany should be unanimous in a determination to resist her ancient enemy. The English Government, representing a nation which has constantly encouraged Italian aspirations for freedom, must not confuse the vindication of treaties and the maintenance of peace with the continuance of an unjust and oppressive system.

LORD STANLEY'S EXPLANATIONS.

IT is never pleasant to contemplate the collapse of a rising reputation, and these times have been so unfruitful in political genius that we can ill afford to lose such promise as they have given. With the exception of veterans who belong rather to the past than the present, the number of public men who have attained even to respectable mediocrity may be counted on the fingers. Where are the statesmen of a younger generation who are destined to take the lead in the future Government of England? Lord STANLEY is one of the very few who have given occasion for any confident predictions. No one could have entered public life with greater advantages than he enjoyed. The Liberal son of a Tory Premier, he added special political opportunities to the hereditary prestige of his name. His advantages were not merely adventitious. He had talent enough to enable him to dispense with genius, and industry enough almost to supply the lack of talent, had that been wanting. He had courted, not without success, a broader popularity than that which rewards the mere party politician. He entered upon office

in a department to which he was supposed to have given especial study, and gained well-merited laurels for the skill with which he conducted through Parliament a measure by which, for good or for ill, the Government of our greatest dependency has been placed on a new footing. He has had the privilege of administering the scheme which he helped to concoct. In many respects he was perhaps the fittest man who could have been selected for the post. His hard doctrinaire theories were not out of place in a Minister who had to resist the "blood and Bible" frenzy which threatened who had to resist the "blood and blote frenzy which threatened to destroy our Pagan Empire and to subvert the principles of religious toleration. A happier position, or a more encouraging prospect, could not have been offered to the ambition of a rising statesman. But one unlucky circumstance threatens now to make the acceptance of the Indian Ministry the most fatal step that Lord STANLEY could have Now that the mutiny is suppressed, and the countercry of fanatical vengeance thoroughly silenced, it has become apparent that the one quality which is essential in the Minister who is to preside over the Government of India is financial genius. Sir ROBERT PEEL once said that any statesman who hoped to be great in England must be a master in finance, and it is certainly true that, in a conjuncture like the present, an Indian Minister who is weak on this essential point will infallibly make shipwreck of whatever reputa-tion he may have won in other fields. After the exhibition of last Tuesday in the House of Commons, it has become painfully obvious that the bent of Lord STANLEY'S genius is not such as the present necessities of India imperatively require. He is not a solitary instance of a man great in the humanities and learned in political science, but helpless as a child when confronted with formidable financial difficulties. In other departments he may achieve renown, but, after the manner in which he has dealt with the embarrassments of India, he will do wisely to shun finance as a field in which he will reap nothing but disgrace.

Many persons had hoped much of Lord STANLEY's career, but we must warn him against the failure that awaits him if he should long continue in a post which none but a financier of more than common power is competent to fill. Possibly the verdict of the country may relieve him, in company with his colleagues, from the embarrassments of a false position, and no man will have greater reason to rejoice in such a result than the Minister who finds himself placed by untoward fate in an office which calls for the one qualification in which he is most conspicuously wanting. It may be said that this is a harsh judgment on a man who is confessedly encumbered with more than ordinary difficulties; but the justification of our opinion rests on Lord STANLEY'S own words. should be the last to underrate the arduous task which is imposed upon the Indian Government. We believe, indeed, that it is not yet half appreciated by any public man, and that in a few months, even those who have indulged the most gloomy apprehensions will be looked upon as over-sanguine prophets. But it is precisely the magnitude of the evil that leaves Lord STANLEY without excuse. Any man might be pardoned who failed adequately to meet an unexpected and formidable emergency, but there is no excuse for one who cannot even see the embarrassments with which he has to cope. Want of foresight for once might which he has to cope. Want of foresight for once might be condoned, if repaired by more statesman-like views when the error had been exposed. But Lord STANLEY is open to a graver charge. He failed utterly to recognise the actual condition of the Indian finances when he introduced the Loan Bill which is not yet passed. A second opportunity was given him of evincing a clearer insight into his true position, and he has used it only to display more palpably than before the blindness and feebleness of his financial

than before the blindness and feebleness of his financial policy, if the name of policy can be given to what is nothing more than a helpless waiting upon Providence.

The known position of affairs at the time of Lord Stanley's first financial statement may be described in a few words. In the year ending in April, 1858, there was a deficit of 9,000,000l. In the year about to close there was an estimated deficit of 12,600,000l. at least. In the year about to commence, the deficit was expected to be reduced, partly by increased taxation, and partly by reduction of military expenditure; but Lord Stanley knew, and showed that he knew, that the improvement from these sources could not exceed 3,000,000l. or 4,000,000l. A deficit of 9,000,000l. would therefore have to be provided for, of which 5,700,000l. would fall on the Home Treasury, and between 3,000,000l. and 4,000,000l. on the Indian Ex-

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chequer. It was also known that the utmost amount which the GOVERNOR-GENERAL had managed to raise by loan during the last two years had been about 10,000,000/., and that the credit of the Indian Government had so far declined that it was only able to reckon on 900,000. for the last quarter of the current year. If it were assumed that the subscriptions would not suffer any further diminution, the result would have been that the Indian Government might have been able to raise enough money to cover its own share of the expected deficit. But there were two other share of the expected deficit. But there were two other demands on it, besides that occasioned by the deficiency of the revenue. The cash balances it was known would be some 3,000,000. below the amount considered to be safe, and the railways were likely to draw between 4,000,000. and 5,000,000. against payments made by them into the Home Treasury. This raised the probable requirements in India to 11,000,000. or more, besides the 5,700,000. which would be needed in England. All this was quite patent when Lord STANLEY gave his first exposition of the financial affairs of India. We know how he dealt with the emergency. He provided for the Home deficiency, and never said a word about the 11,000,000. which would have to be procured for India within the year. But would have to be procured for India within the year. But we have now the apology for this monstrous blunder. It is neither more nor less than this. The Indian Government, he tells us, got through the two years of mutiny without any assistance beyond that of native capitalists, except a sum of 1,000,000L, which was sent out in bullion in 1857. The rest 1,000,000l., which was sent out in bullion in 1857. The rest we give in Lord STANLEY'S own words:—"I don't think it was "unreasonable to suppose that the same amount of assistance "which had been received at a time of the utmost peril in "1857 would still be found forthcoming in 1859, when political confidence is restored, when the stability of our Govern-"ment is assured, and when our military expenses are beginining to be decreased." This apology derives all its plausibility from the suppression of facts. It is true that the two last years were tided over without much pecuniary aid from England. But how was this done? In the first place, by the end of the financial year the cash balance will have been allowed to fall from 13,800,000l. to 9,300,000l.; and these four-and-a-half millions have not only eked out the resources of the last two years, but must in great part be replaced in the year about to commence. Another help to the Indian Government during the mutiny was that the Railway Companies were not drawing out nearly so large an amount as they are certain to do next year. The consequence was that, in spite of the warlike operations, loans at the rate of 5,000,000%. a year sufficed to keep the Exchequer just afloat. To do as much in the next year will require a loan of 9,000,000l. at least, and Lord Stanley's explanation resolves itself into this :—
"Because 5,000,000/. could be raised in a year while a "five per cent. loan would float, it was not unreasonable to expect that 9,000,000l might be obtained when a six per cent. loan had ceased to have any attractions for native capitalists." Perhaps we ought not to criticise too closely an apology for a blunder which did not admit of any reasonable explanation. But if a first error is to be condoned, it can only be on condition of its not being repeated, and unfortunately the second essay of Lord STANLEY is even worse than the first. Nothing is suggested, and nothing explained. The very first essentials of a financial statement clearness and accuracy—are wanting. Lord Canning, for example, is represented as asking for no more than 4,000,000*l*, when, in fact, he said that he should require from England 5,440,000.—"444 lacs in addition to the 100 already ap-"plied for." Then credit is taken for a recent unexpected increase in the railway payments, without the least regard to the fact that every pound paid in adds exactly the same amount to the liabilities of the Government, and that any accession of means obtained in this way by the Council must speedily cause a corresponding development of the wants of the Governor-General. We acquit Lord Stanley of any disingenuousness in this or any other statement in his speech, and we have no doubt that he made the matter as clear to his hearers as it was to himself. But we see no indications of the keen eye and firm step without which no Minister can safely venture among the quicksands of Indian

One advantage has already come out of the very confusion and perplexity in which Indian affairs are involved. The subject is forcing itself upon the minds of all men, and such delusions as the notion of escaping liability for the Indian debt are fast vanishing. In the debate on the Loan Bill in

the Lords, on Thursday night, Lord Ellenborough proposed to extend the guarantee of England to that portion of the Indian debt which represents the interest of the proprietors of Indian stock. He would not go beyond this at present, but solely from the fear that Parliament would, on the strength of its guarantee, insist on meddling with the details of Indian ex-The dread of Parliamentary interference would penditure. The dread of Fariamentary interference would have been better timed when the Indian Bill of last year was under discussion. That evil is now inevitable, and it will neither be increased nor diminished by the grant of an Imperial guarantee. But the opposition of the Duke of Argyll will, we think, prove even more serviceable than the half support which Lord Ellenborough offered. It is worth while to note the sort of argument by which the project of a guarantee is met. It would not, it is said, be politic to grant it, because, if we were ever driven out of India, it would be most unpleasant to be saddled with the debt. Happily the Duke of ARGYLL answered his own reasoning, by the avowal that it was morally and almost physically impossible that we should withdraw from India. We quite agree with this, and believe that it is neither possible for us to withdraw of our own accord, nor for the natives to expel us against our will. But let the Duke of ARGYLL consider another event, which is neither a moral nor a physical impossibility. Suppose that, while we still retain India, her resources, whether from revenues or from loans, should prove insufficient to meet the interest of the debt. In such a case he admits that we shall not retire from the country, which is tantamount to saying that we shall make good the defi-ciency ourselves. Would it not be more politic to pledge our credit, and thereby avert the catastrophe and escape the payment, than to refuse assistance now, with the certainty that we cannot, in the last resort, withhold it?

PHILIP SOBER EXCUSES PHILIP DRUNK.

WE entirely and frankly admit that Lord PALMERSTON Whas a right to complain. His grievance is that Lord Derby and the country took him at his word when he said that it was not in the power of the Crown to dissolve Parliament. No doubt it is a grave mortification to a professional joker even to be suspected of seriousness or sincerity. Just as the late Mr. Liston always quarrelled with the public for preferring his Paul Pry to his Hamlet, so it must be provoking to Lord Palmerston, when he was poking his choicest fun at the Government, that the country would take him up an grand sérieux. Retractations, from those of ST. Augustine to Lord Bacon, are always edifying, but a little perplexing to the retractors. Second thoughts are, if proverbially the best, undeniably the dullest; but of all retractations and of all second thoughts, the apologies and excuses which a man has to make to himself, his conscience, and his family after a drunken orgie, are the most humiliating degradation to which humanity can be reduced. Such is Lord Palmerston's Wednesday's speech. He has not only to eat his words, but to disavow himself. There not only to eat his words, but to disavow himself. There is something, if offensive, yet in its way genial and lively, in the rake, flourishing and swaggering over night, singing fast songs, "chaffing" the police, and rollicking in the Haymarket; but oh, the next morning and repentance—the clammy tongue and blood-shot eyes, the station house, "the beak," and the police report. And, worst of all, if the offender is a "family man," is the getting over it with his wife the dull apologies, the hiccuping excuses, the stumbling palliations, explaining this and denying that-and all the while the torn coat, and the damaged hat, and the penniless purse sternly contradicting all that the old sinner is playing off in soft sawder. The illustration is perhaps offensive, but nothing else comes up to the contrast between PALMERSTON drunk on Friday, 25th of March, at 2 o'clock in the morning, and PALMERSTON sober, very sober indeed, on Wednesday last at the 12 o'clock sitting. Let us contrast the venerable roysterer in his cups, and the limp and dishevelled penitent performing his hock and soda-water resipiscence.

This is his account of the frolic. He has been had up before the country, and has been accused of denying the constitutional right of the Ministry to advise the dissolution of Parliament, and of the Crown to accept that advice. But this, he says, is not what he said, or what he meant. All he meant was, that under certain circumstances, with the Mutiny and Appropriation Bills not passed, and the Supply not voted, Parliament must be a party to its own dissolution, because it could under these circumstances

address the Crown either not to dissolve Parliament or to dismiss its advisers. This is what Lord Palmerston says he said, only he did not say it. This is what he says he meant—which if he did mean, he meant nothing. For the distinction he draws as to two supposed cases is absolutely no distinction at all. He says, when the question between Ministers and a majority of Parliament is such a mere trifle as that of peace and war, then Parliament need not be made a party to its own dissolution—need not be called upon to commit suicide. "In ordinary cases," is his Lordship's language on the 25th of March, "when the question is "one, for instance, of peace or war, with respect to which "the Government and the majority of the House of Commons "may disagree, it would be a perfectly constitutional course for them to appeal to the people, and the majority ought "to afford them every facility in making that appeal." Why? In a question "for instance, of peace and war," if it is ever the duty of Parliament to address the Crown against a dissolution or to dismiss the Ministry, surely the emergency might justify such a Parliamentary interference. What makes peace and war a more "ordinary" case than the question of franchises?

Besides, what Lord PALMERSTON did actually state ten days ago was, that in this case it was the bounden duty of Parliament to interpose all its powers to prevent a dissolution. On Wednesday last he says that what he had asserted had no reference to actual and present duties—he was only announcing an abstract constitutional theorem. All that he intended was simply to appeal to the existence of a large unconditioned principle—he did not intend to apply it. He was only, as it were, contributing notes to a new edition of De Lolme—not applying his constitutional maxim to any case in view, still less to the actual circumstances of April, 1859. "There happen to be conditions of public business in which "a dissolution is very inconvenient; till the supplies are voted "the House cannot, without inconvenience, dissolve unless "Parliament accelerates its proceedings, and makes itself a "party to the dissolution, because, if it pleased, the House "could address the Crown," &c. &c. "All this would have "been perfectly constitutional; but the House has not "thought fit to adopt this course, and I certainly should not "have advised it to do so." Oh! HENRY JOHN Viscount PALMERSTON, who are they who have short memories? You, for one, never would have advised the House of Commons to do all those naughty things which the Long Parliament did. But what did you say? "The concurrence of this "House is necessary to its own dissolution. It is in"dispensable to take a vote in Supply, to pass an Ap"propriation Act, the Ways and Means Act, and to make "provision for the Exchequer Bills due in May. All these operations require the hearty concurrence of this "House; are the Government, I should like to know, sure of obtaining that concurrence? In ordinary cases—such "as that of peace and war...the majority ought to afford them every facility to appeal to the country. That, how ever, is not the present question. I cannot come to the concicusion that this House would not, if the Government "announced it to be their intention to dissolve, be wiser than "announced it to be their intention to dissolve, be wiser than "they, and feel a stronger sense of the duty which both "the Ministry and Parliament owe to the country and to "the Constitution. I am of opinion that the House of Commons would not lend its aid to the adoption of such a course, "I feel confident that if they did, they would be pursuing a "policy injurious to the State."

Yes: but all this was not advice to the Commons.

Yes; but all this was not advice to the Commons. All that Lord Palmerston said on 25th March was, that if the House of Commons "in the present question" lent any assistance to the dissolution, "they would be pursuing a policy injurious to the State." It is of course a different thing to advise a man not to do a thing, and to tell him that it would be a great crime; and we make Lord Palmerston a present of the distinction. But one thing is most certain—that on 25th March Lord Palmerston said a certain Parliamentary policy would be "a policy injurious to the State," and on the 5th April he also says, "he for one would never have advised any "otherpolicy." Either, then, Lord Palmerston very prudently backs out of his little bit of treason with the grace of a penitent alarmed at the ugly consequences of his drunken spree, or he is ready to advise the adoption of a policy injurious to the State—which is a moral condition not creditable to a septuagenarian politician. If it was the duty of Parliament to interpose between the dissolution and the supplies on this question, Lord Palmerston has failed in his constitutional duty to the Crown and country. If it was not, as he now

says, the duty of Parliament so to interfere, he was guilty of the most reckless levity in alluding to the possibility of a course which he now pronounces, by his acquiescence and hearty acceptance of its contrary, to be factious, unprincipled, and ill-advised.

But the measure of Lord PALMERSTON'S humiliation is not complete. Mr. Whiteside—good at taunts, we admit, yet not without knowledge of, or sympathy with, Italian affairs—reminded Lord Palmerston that eleven years ago it was in his power to secure the independence of Lombardy, but that he declined to avail himself of the chance; and that he was glad enough, after the success of RADETZKY'S campaign, to offer the very same basis of accommodation which he had himself rejected a few months before, but which in turn was rejected by Austria as being then too late. The inference was plain—that if Lombardy is not free at this moment it is Lord Palmerston's fault. Now observe Lord PALMERSTON'S answer :- "This alleged Now observe Lord PALMERSTON'S answer:—"This alleged "offer of independence to Lombardy was perfectly illusory. "I rejected it because it was illusory. All that Austria "offered was to consolidate Lombardy into a separate "dependency on Austria, under an Austrian Grand-Duke." This is Lord PALMERSTON'S answer—off-hand, complete, and "important if true." But Mr. Whiteside returns to the charge, and produces Baron Hammelauer's ipsissima verbathe actual note of the negotiation between Lord PALMERSTON and himself. Its first words were (State Papers, Vol. 57, No. 377, date May 24, 1848)—"Lombardy would cease "to belong to Austria, and would be free to remain "independent, or to unite herself to any Italian State she "might choose." The answer to this, on the 3rd of June, was a note from Lord PALMERSTON declining to make this propovenice from Lord Palmerston declining to make this proposition the basis of negotiation unless the independence of Venice were included. This is Mr. Whiteside's statement of March 28th. What is Lord Palmerston's answer given on the same night? "I have not had the opportunity " of referring to documents, but, speaking from memory, I say what I said before," &c. &c. To which, of course, Mr. Whiteside replied that this was no answer at all; and that his statement, that it was by Lord Palmerston's own personal rejection of the terms proposed by the Austrian Commissioner in writing on 24th of May, and therefore by his fault, that Lombardy was not now an independent State, remained uncontradicted. And Mr. WHITESIDE'S account was met by very natural cheers. Sir John Pakington, after these two mean and miserable attempts at "personal explanation" on Lord Palmerston's part, has additional reasons for his very emphatic and manly observation, "that the honour of public men in this country is not so high as it used to be."

WHO IS TO BLAME?

A MONG the many inconveniences which Lord Derby's reckless dissolution will occasion, not the least serious is the interruption of the Navy reforms which the House of Commons had shown its determination to effect. No one can complain now that the promised Committee is postponed, to take its chance from the temper of a new House, which will be absorbed with very different considerations. Party conflicts and constitutional discussions are likely to leave the Admiralty to pursue its ways with little disturbance, unless the actual outbreak of the long-threatened war should once more recall the attention of statesmen to the defences of the country. Not only the Committee, but the materials with which it was to deal, are for the present lost. The reports which were to explain everything are produced in a mutilated form, which renders them almost useless—the really essential document, which was announced as ready to be laid on the table two or three weeks ago, being now withheld to await the result of further inquiries. Lord CLARENCE PAGET, we are glad to see, has availed himself of the renewed discussion of the Navy Estimates to do one more piece of good service before the dissolution of Parliament. In his first attack on the Admiralty system he demonstrated the absolute necessity of enlarging the scope of the Navy Estimates so as to show the operations contemplated in each successive year. In the debate on Wednesday, he brought to light the forgotten fact that in the days when the English navy was worthy of the country, the Admiralty was in the habit of furnishing the detailed information which Sir John Pakington represented as certain to impair the efficiency of a piece of machinery so intricate as that on which the maintenance of our naval power depends. No precedent was wanted to prove that an official Board will work better

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under the jealous supervision of the House of Commons than when left entirely to its own devices. But in Parliament a precedent will often prevail where the most irresistible argument fails of effect, and it is no small gain to the cause of navy reform to know that what is now sought is no unheard-of innovation, but simply a return to the practice which prevailed in the palmiest days of our naval supremacy. Up to the year 1819, it appears that the Estimates gave the name and station of every ship on which any expenditure was to be incurred. If the vessel was in course of construction, the date when she was commenced, and the time when her launch was to be expected, were duly set down, and in every case the precise amount of progress to be made was stated as the basis of the necessary vote. The same minute information was furnished as to the repairs, fittings, rigging, and stores which each par-ticular ship might require, and the exact cost of every vessel in the fleet was apparent on the face of the annual Estimates. The way in which this excellent practice was put an end to affords a curious illustration of the apathy of Parliament on such matters at the beginning of the long peace. Admiral Tucker's father was the innocent cause of all the mischief. By a careful comparison of the Estimates of successive years, he had made himself as well acquainted with the progress in the dockyards as if he had been a member of the Board of Admiralty, and was in consequence suspected of having access to sources of information which ought to have been sacred to official eyes. Lord MELVILLE, who was then in office, had Mr. Tucker before the Board for cross-examination, and the result was, that he satisfied the Board that their estimates gave so faithful an account of what they were doing, that there was no difficulty in extracting from them every particular which might be desired as to the state and progress of the British navy. It was a time when no anxiety could be felt about the fleet. We had concluded a anxiety could be left about the neet. We had concluded a triumphant war, and our navy was fully equal to the combined fleets of all the world beside. There was little fear of any excessive vigilance on the part of Parliament, and Lord Melville seized the opportunity to defeat all future critics who might be as curious as Mr. Tucker by putting the Estimates into the unintelligible form which they have ever

The abuse thus covertly introduced has borne its natural fruits. After forty years of secret management, the Admiralty has contrived to reduce our navy to a condition in which a single European Power might prove a very formidable opponent. This old story which Lord CLARENCE PAGET so opportunely unearthed, and the half promise which he elicited from Sir John Pakington to return to the better ways of our fathers, were the only good points about the debate. Provided that greater efficiency can be secured for the future, no one cares now to inquire how much of the blame for past neglect will stick to this or that First Lord of the Admiralty. Sir Charles Wood would have shown more discretion if he had abstained from waking up the personal question. It ought to have satisfied him that the present First Lord had, with due Parliainentary courtesy, acquitted all his predecessors, and that the House was quite willing to assume that the navy had got into a very bad state indeed, solely in consequence of the distinguished zeal and able administration of its rulers. But Sir Charles Wood pertinaciously insisted on being brought to the bar, and argued, with a force of logic which it is difficult to resist, that the navy could not be in a condition inadequate to the defence of the country, unless it had been very grievously neglected by himself or his predecessors in office. It is not always desirable to draw logical inferences, and the country was quite disposed to be blind to the inconsistency between the deplorable facts which Sir John Pa-KINGTON only did his duty in revealing, and the complimentary terms in which he nevertheless alluded to former Ministers. The inconsistency is at any rate dispelled now, and we suppose that Sir Charles Wood is satisfied with having elicited from his adversary the unmistakeable declaration—
"I say the right honourable gentleman neglected his duty." Whether he did so or not is a question which we do not feel called upon to discuss, nor can we feel much more interest in the counter-accusations which formed the staple of his speech. It is quite possible that Sir John Pakington once indulged a misplaced affection for block-ships, and it was undeniably a mistake on his part to reduce the Estimates of last year by 20,000l., or 70,000l., or whatever the amount may have been. But there are questions more vital than whether Sir A. B. or Sir C. D. is the more to blame for

having suffered the navy to sink to a level far below what the interests of the country require. No recriminations can get rid of the fact, that with a European war threatening to break out day after day, we have a navy which might or might not prove superior to that of France, but which would be driven from the seas by a hostile combination between two such Powers as France and Russia. It is in vain to talk of the magnificent fleet paraded a few years ago at Spithead. Even after allowing for a certain proportion of buckram ships which it contained, it would doubtless have been a magnificent fleet for any country but England. But we are magnificent fleet for any country but England. But we are audacious enough to hold that our navy ought to be not merely the first in the world, but so far superior to any other as to leave an adequate force for our own protection, other as to leave an adequate force for our own protection, after providing for the safety of our possessions and our commerce in every quarter of the globe. It is not yet nearly up to that mark, nor was it so at the time of the Spithead review to which Sir Charles Wood refers with so much exultation. We believe that the country is bent upon restoring it as soon as may be to a creditable state, and that it will not be deterred from doing so by the dread of throwing Sir Charles Wood's performances a little into the shade.

THE MORALITY OF DESTRUCTION.

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THERE are few more curious problems than that which was ago from Dr. Lardner, describing certain newly-invented chemical compounds, which it was said might be made available for warlike purposes on a scale altogether frightful to think of. It is possible, we are told, to charge shells with gases which, if they came in contact with the atmospheric air, would immediately evolve in all directions clouds of white arsenic and prussic acid, to the certain death of all who breathed them. It is possible, we are told, to charge shells with gases which, if they came in contact with the atmospheric air, would immediately evolve in all directions clouds of white arsenic and prussic acid, to the certain death of all who breathed them. It is possible, by similar means, to set fire to an army, a fleet, or a town, as you might light a lucifer match. It is possible to go half a mile to windward of an army, rnd by the help of a few bottles of poisonous gas convert the wind into an agent of destruction as deadly as that which destroyed the host of the Assyrians. All these things, it seems, we can do. Why, it may be asked, should we abstain? We are by no means prepared to answer the question. It is one which, to our apprehension, has never yet received a full and satisfactory answer; but it involves difficulties which are at least curious, and which may be instructive. Assuming that the object of war is to inflict the maximum of injury on the enemy, to destroy his resources, and to cripple his atrength, can any principle be suggested which is to restrain us from any and every means to this end? Population is a great element of strength. So is wealth. So are all natural or artificial advantages. Are we, therefore, justified in doing our utmost to destroy all these things in an enemy's country? Would it be right to burn the towns, to slaughter men, women, and children, to destroy, if possible, the ports, to cut the dykes by which rivers are dammed up, and to lay the country under water—in a word, to ext

him up and bury him alive in a mine, or to run a bayonet into any part of his body which may come in your way; but you must not poison the water which he drinks, nor force him to surrender by threatening to hang his wife and shoot his children, surrender by threatening to hang his wife and shoot his children, or even by burning his private property, unless it happens to be on board ship. The difference is merely conventional; it rests on no plain principle whatever; but the analogy of politeness conclusively proves that it is not on that account immaterial. Indeed, questions of degree (which are often most important) must always be solved, if at all, by the experimental and conventional process. Why is it right to hang a murderer, and not right to burn him alive? Why may you transport a man for life, and not cut off his arms and legs? Why may you express indignation at an insult, and not spit in the face of the man who insults you? Simply because the dislike of society at large to violent measures has risen so high on the social thermometer, and no higher. The question is one of compromise between opposite impulses, and not one of principle at all.

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between opposite impulses, and not one of principle at all.

It ought, however, to be observed, that as there are such things as good and bad manners, so there are such things as sensible and foolish compromises; and we own that in respect to war, the one at present in force appears to us to be not a very wise one. If you may put liquid fire into a hollow rifle bullet and fire it into a tent, whereby the men inside will be either smothered or burnt, it does seem a little absurd to be squeamish about putting poisonous gas into a glass bottle for a similar purpose. The most sensible compromise that we can suggest is, that the distinction poisonous gas into a glass bottle for a similar purpose. The most sensible compromise that we can suggest is, that the distinction between combatants and non-combatants—which is in principle perfectly arbitrary and groundless, though practice has proved its great convenience—should be taken as the governing principle. ciple in all military matters. Let it be understood that actual physical force shall only be applied to combatants, but that on them it shall be exerted in its most decisive form.

Strong be the arm and sharp the blow, And short the pang to undergo.

And short the pang to undergo.

Let contending armies fight with every weapon which science can supply—with poisonous as well as with explosive gases, with fire in its new shapes as well as in its old ones. In writing thus, we believe that we recommend what is substantially the most humane course; but we are by no means disposed to deride as mere prejudice the reluctance which many people would feel to adopt it. Systematic slaughter is so horrible a thing that if, in carrying it out, there are modes of procedure which are detested and avoided by the common sentiment of mankind, we could only look upon the effect of such a feeling as being, for the time, so much clear gain for the world. So long as it lasted, it would be at worst a generous and not unfortunate inconsistency—producing, in its encouragement of kindly feeling, far more good than the harm which it would produce by causing imperfections in the execution of a task which, however necessary, is the most frightful task in the world. It may be quite true that by refusing or neglecting to poison twenty men on some particular fusing or neglecting to poison twenty men on some particular occasion, it might be made necessary to shoot fifty or sixty more than would otherwise have been shot at some subsequent time; than would otherwise have been shot at some subsequent time; but the consequence would not be an obvious one, and the agents in the one case would possibly feel themselves cowardly murderers, whilst, in the other, they would only feel that they had done their duty. There are things more precious than life and limb, and so long as in point of fact a general sentiment condemns particular methods of destroying people's lives, it ought to be ampfully respected.

We fear it is a mere romantic dream that war will ever be we fear it is a mere romantic dream that war will ever be subjected to a reductio ad absurdum, and that armies will be incapacitated from fighting, because certain and universal destruction would be the consequence of an engagement; but few speculations can be so curious as the inquiry which this dream suggests. What would become of human society if the lives of contracting the property of any course of the property of the pro suggests. What would become of human society if the lives of millions were at the mercy of any one who chose to take them? Suppose a man were to take his stand in the middle of Trafalgar-Suppose a man were to take his stand in the middle of Trafalgar-square, and announce to the passers by that, being absolutely desperate, he had provided himself with a large bottle of the gas which Dr. Lardner describes; and that, unless he received an adequate ransom in a certain time, he would break it on the pavement, and put to death every person within half a mile of him. Or, to vary the supposition, suppose that for some days explosions of such bottles had taken place in various parts of London, and had caused many deaths, and an advertisement were to appear demanding that so many thousand pounds should be deposited in such a place as the only condition on which the plaque could be stayed, how would the demand be resisted? Or, if we suppose the invention applied not only to war but to politics, how could stayed, now would the demand be resisted. Or, it we suppose the invention applied not only to war but to politics, how could any government be carried on? All governments rest ultimately upon physical force, even the best and freest, and the great guarantee of all good government lies in the fact that common guarantee of all good government lies in the fact that common sense shows the necessity of upholding authority by the strong hand, if need requires it. Our own Government is the strongest in the world for certain purposes, simply because almost every man in the country would assist it in effecting those purposes, if his assistance were called for. All this would be at an end if individuals were suddenly to become physically stronger than the rest of the world. No more frightful state of society, if indeed it could be called by that name, can be imagined than one in which any one man might, by the aid of a little chemical skill and a small quantity of apparatus, change the whole condition of human affairs by producing effects

compared with which war, pestilence, and famine are slight evils. No very wonderful combination of circumstances would be necessary to bring history to a close by one enormous act of suicide and murder. There would be a sort of stupendous irony about such a climax which is not unpoetical. The day after the catastrophe, when the sun would rise on empty streets, drifting ships, and silent fields, with a broken bottle in the middle as the cause of the catastrophe, would perhaps be even more grotesque than tremendous if any one were left to witness it.

CONSTITUTIONAL ILLUSIONS.

IT is the privilege of a Constitutional Government to work by means of shams, and to those who live in the midst of them the shams are not very galling. But they are very disheartening to country cousins, or enthusiastic foreigners who come over brimfull of gushing admiration for the "inner shrine of freedom." It is still more painful for the lionizer, whose fate it is to shock the simple faith of these adoring pilgrims. It is difficult, without a blush, to point to some of our Chief Justices as specimens of the dignity of the ermine, or to exhibit a jury, returning a verdict under pressure of starvation, as an illustration of the Palladium of English liberty. But it is within the walls of St. Stephen's that a foreign sympathizer finds the real ordeal of his faith. Perhaps he has heard of the sacred right of the subject to petition, the refusal of which once led to a revolution, and he is anxious to see this right in operation. By dint of great muscular exertion, and a perfect disregard for the integrity of his cont-tails, he succeeds in fighting his way to the Strangers' Gallery. The Speaker is standing before his chair with a list of names in his hand. A junior Lord of the Admiralty is looking Ministerial on the Treesury Repark. of his continue, he such a fall of the Admiralty is looking Gallery. The Speaker is standing before his chair with a list of names in his hand. A junior Lord of the Admiralty is looking Ministerial on the Treasury Bench. Two or three scores of members are lounging about the green benches in all the variety of ungraceful attitudes which it is the privilege of the Anglogue are to have invented. Every one is talking lustify to his members are lounging about the green benches in all the variety of ungraceful attitudes which it is the privilege of the Anglo-Saxon race to have invented. Every one is talking lustily to his neighbour; and, indeed, if the members of the Stock Exchange had adjourned to Westminster, and were selling and buying consols, the conversation could not be more animated. Suddenly the Speaker shouts "Mr. Smith," in a stentorian voice. A figure rises in a distant corner, murmurs a few words, inaudible in the Babel of voices, brandishes a roll of paper in the air, and marches up to a black travelling-bag hung against the table. The Speaker mutters amysticformula, the roll of paper is plunged into the depths of the bag, and all is over; and then he calls on another Mr. Smith. And yet that roll of paper represents many days of anxious labour, many nights of careful thought. The parson of a distant parish conceived the bright idea of it during the peroration of one of his most impassioned discourses. He disclosed it in confidence to the schoolmaster and the clerk, and invited the squire's pious son to dinner to discuss it. The schoolmaster drew it up in the purest and most idiomatic English, making three foul copies. They canvassed the parish and the neighbouring parishes for signatures, took the attorney's opinion as to whether maiden ladies might sign it, talked over it at the tithe dinner, talked over it at market, talked over it at trestry, and made twenty alterations in it to suit the scruples of twenty conscientious farmers—and all for this, that it should be brandished for a moment on high before the Speaker's eyes, and then sent to its eternal home in a black travelling-bag.

Or perhaps our admiring foreigner has heard much of English orgators, and would gladly hear one speak. If he waits a few

then sent to its eternal home in a black travelling-bag. Or perhaps our admiring foreigner has heard much of English orators, and would gladly hear one speak. If he waits a few moments he will have a chance. First the questions must come, and the questions are an important part of the Constitution. They enable gentlemen to ventilate their English who do not feel sufficient confidence in its fluency to expose it to the rude test of a debate. To see his name, his own name, printed in capitals in the reports of the Times, gives a newly-elected squire a thrill of delight which is cheaply purchased by the trouble of asking a question. But the questions are over, and the orator rises. Who can describe the feelings with which he has listened for the first time to Lord John Russell—with what ardent anticipations he went to hear the statesman who has led the House of Commons longer than any man living—how bitterly he for the first time to Lord John Russell—with what ardent anticipations he went to hear the statesman who has led the House of Commons longer than any man living—how bitterly he felt, as he went away, what a satire on our institutions the eminence of such a man pronounces? A long, dull, drawling prosiness, which would be thought tiresome in a vestry, arguments without a pretence of logic, platitudes without a spark of originality, are the strange spell with which he has fascinated the House of Commons. "Who drives fat oxen must himself be fat," is the only explanation of a career which the divinity that doth hedge about a Russell, or the cunning pliability of his convictions, would be of themselves insufficient to account for. So thoroughly do his stammering arguments and watery truisms adapt themselves to the mental calibre of his hearers, that it is as treasonable to doubt his talent as it has lately been to inquire into his honesty. That his public life has been a succession of dirty tricks does not perhaps disqualify him from being the leading statesman of a great people; for as much can be said of Mr. Disraeli, and very nearly as much of Lord Palmerston. It is true that neither of his rivals can show such a goodly list of triumphs as he can. The Tithe resolution of 1835, the Bed-chamber plot, the Free-trade letter, the Irish'Arms Act, the Durham letter, the Aberdeen resignation, the Vienna regotietions and the "crafty Aberdeen resignation, the Vienna Act, the Durham letter, the Aberdeen resignation, the Vienna negotiations, and the "crafty and catching device" the results of whose success we are now experiencing, make up a catalogue of

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merit which no living man can equal. But that all this moral meanness should be submissively adored without the gilding of a particle of eloquence or talent, is a symptom of rottenness in public feeling which calls for reform far more loudly than the abuses of our electoral system.

But it is on the other side of St. Stephen's Hall that the feelings of an enthusiast for the Constitution would receive the heaviest blow. We all know the value of the House of Lords. We cherish it as something peculiarly our own. We contemptuously tell colonies and foreign countries that it is of no use their trying to imitate it. Like the mangusteen, it is a dainty which will not bear exportation. And on all great public questions we piously thank heaven, in the perorations of our speeches, that we have still got a House of Lords. Shall we introduce our country cousin into this adytum of the Constitution? We walk through many vaulted corridors, we pass unharmed many a pair of solemn policemen, until we reach a gorgeous gate of gilded brass-work. Another struggle with a swarm of officials, and we are in the sacred precinct. As soon as we have recovered from the glare of colouring and gilding which blazes on us from every creviee of the wast hall, we look into the body of the apartment, and see before us the assembly whose wise deliberations are the last hope of the Constitution. A row of bright red morocco benches line each side of the chamber, on which six or seven ill-favoured old fogies are vainly trying to go to sleep. The Chancellor sits upright and motionless on the Woolsack, and two Law Lords are gossiping beside him with very animated gesticulations. Four or five white-robed Bishops are sitting in a corner staring straight forward with that look of vacant solemnity which men assume when they form part of a spectacle, and do not think it decorous to yawn. At the table in the middle, a young gentleman, with fair well-smoothed hair and an expression of pale vacuity, is vainly trying to impress upon the reporters the fact that with a dignified expression of remonstrance to the clock. The movement is descried by a wary party leader, who tries to put a stop to the fair young gentleman's address to the reporters. If the Bishops go before the division is taken, the question in debate will infallibly be lost. But nothing can check the pale man's eloquence; and as the minute-hand reaches a well-known fatal number, the white-robed prelates rise with one accord, like a pack of ptarmigan on the wing, and disappear through the door. A few minutes later, the result of the deliberations of the Ark of the Constitution is conveyed by the telegraph to the Clubs in the well-known formula, "Lords adjourned, 7.5."

HOW COMMISSIONS ARE WORKED.

MOST of our readers have, in all probability, forgotten the existence of a Commission which was appointed as long ago as 1855, to consider the expediency of abolishing shillings and halfpence, and introducing what is called the decimal principle into the coinage of the country. The circumstances under which the Commission was issued were rather peculiar. A very enthusiastic body had long existed, and we believe still exists, under the designation of the Decimal Coinage Association. It was a proposed locat and included among its members some very distinct. the designation of the Decimal Coinage Association. It was a powerful sect, and included among its members some very distinguished mathematicians, a sprinkling of politicians, among whom Lord Monteagle was the most prominent, and a very respectable following gathered from people of all sorts and degrees. Its propagandism was not less enthusiastic than that of the unhappy projectors of the Fonetic Nuz, and if its tracts were to be believed, there was nothing in the world so well worth living for as florins, cents, and mils. It had once been so far successful as to obtain a rather favourable report from a Parliamentary Committee, and had even got a sort of medal struck in its honour in the shape of that unlucky coin which is so often made to do duty for a half-crown. It was not to be expected that a body so energetic would content itself with so trifling a success as this, and its influence proved sufficient to obtain from a reluctant Government the appointment of a Commission, with the Society's own chamwould content used with so triling a success as this, and its influence proved sufficient to obtain from a reluctant Government the appointment of a Commission, with the Society's own champion, Lord Monteagle, as its chairman. Prejudiced opponents, who thought the whole scheme mere moonshine, rather objected to the selection of a judge on the ground that he had already committed himself as a partisan; but the plan was perhaps thought a good one, as likely to insure the diligent prosecution of an inquiry in which the chairman of the Commission had always shown so lively an interest. There was something to be said in favour of this view, and as abundant confidence was felt in the ability and impartiality of the two other Commissioners—Lord Overstone and Mr. Hubbard—there seemed a reasonable prospect of getting a speedy and safe report. In due time a huge Blue Book of evidence appeared. Shortly afterwards the public was reminded of the existence of the Commission by the appearance of a second Blue Book, containing answers from a number of professors and learned men to a rather puzzling set of questions which one of the Commissioners had framed to test the soundness of the Decimalist theories. All this looked very much like business, and the final report of the Commission was daily expected, until at last the whole subject was well-nigh forgotten, and people ceased to wonder what this energetic Commission was about.

was about.

At length it entered into the head of an honourable and decimalist member of Parliament to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he knew anything of the missing Commission; and one consequence of the question has been that the Minutes from the 28th of May, 1857, to the 1st of March, 1859, have been printed in return to an order of the House of Commons. Not being very familiar with the habits and customs of Commissioners, we have been not a little puzzled with this curious document. As far as the year 1857 goes, there is nothing very remarkable about the return to an order of the House of Commons. Not being very familiar with the habits and customs of Commissioners, we have been not a little puzzled with this curious document. As far as the year 1857 goes, there is nothing very remarkable about the proceedings. Half a dozen meetings, in the course of which half a dozen witnesses were examined, brought round the long vacation, and a very long one it seems to have been; for exactly nine months elapsed before the Commission set to work again. It was quite natural that, after so long a period of repose, work should be resumed with double activity, and accordingly six meetings were held in little more than a fortnight in the month of May, 1858, and a batch of no less than ten witnesses were examined. This was something like work; and what makes the industry of the Commission the more praiseworthy is that they really had a very good excuse for being idle at that particular period, because it chanced to be a time when it was impossible for one of their number to attend. We learn this from a letter communicating the fact, which duly appears in the Minutes of one of the earliest of these meetings. But here may be seen the advantage of having an enthusiastic Chairman, who was not to be tempted to shirk his work even by so good an excuse as Lord Overstone's absence supplied. This fortnight's hard labour completed the evidence, and nothing remained but to agree or disagree upon a report. The effort appears to have been too exhausting, and the Commission went to sleep again for another nine months. A whole year's work had been compressed into one fortnight; and it was absolutely necessary to rest until February, 1859. Then, at length, the three Commissioners met, for the first time during eighteen months, and resolved to reassemble on that day month, each armed with a separate report. But this was not the only business of the day, for we find entered upon the Minutes quite a small volume of letters which the Secretary had received during the temporary abeyance of the Commis

tenor will appear from the following extract:—

"The last occasion on which I met my colleagues was the 30th of July, 1857, eighteen months since. Nor has the Commission held any sittings since that date, with the exception of six meetings in May, 1858, for the examination of witnesses; a period during which I was precluded from any attention to public business in consequence of the death of my father. On my return to town in the latter part of June, 1858, I lost no time in pressing my request for a meeting of the Commission, with a view of preparing a final report, to be submitted to the Crown before the prorogation of Parliament. My efforts, however, for this purpose, notwithstanding the strong terms in which I expressed myself in my letters to you of 6th May, 24th June, 5th, 17th, and 23rd of July, proved wholly ineffectual. No meeting of the Commission was summoned previous to the prorogation of Parliament; and through the whole period of the recess to the present moment we have remained in the same dormant state. I cannot feel satisfied that we are thus properly discharging the duties which we have undertaken."

Then follows a hint of an independent report to the Crown in

properly discharging the duties which we have undertaken."

Then follows a hint of an independent report to the Crown in the event of any further delay; and thereupon the meeting of the 1st of February was summoned.

One more meeting on the 1st of March, which concludes the series, may suggest a possible explanation of the mysterious workings of the Commission. On that occasion the Chairman was absent, and a series of resolutions condemnatory of a decimal coinage was submitted by Lord Overstone. It is rumoured that Lord Monteagle has retired from the Commission when it was about to decide upon the final Report, which had been so long and so strangely delayed. If this be true, it will, we hope, receive some explanation; for otherwise ill-natured people may be tempted to doubt whether it is quite right for an enthusiastic Chairman to encounter the opposition of his colleagues by studious delay, and to take refuge in flight from a Commission which declines to do his bidding. declines to do his bidding.

PERSONALITIES.

WHY is it that eminent lawyers so often either fail entirely or attain only a limited success in the House of Commons? The reason, we believe, is, that except in the case of singularly versatile and powerful minds, the habits formed by a dozen or twenty years of sedulous practice at the Bar become indelible. An orator who has gained daily triumphs in arguing one class of questions before a jury or a Court, must believe, almost in spite of all his efforts to the contrary, that his familiar artifices will prove equally efficacious in handling an entirely different class of questions before a tribunal of quite another character. It is true that if a debate arises upon a voluminous correspondence in a

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Blue-book, the lawyers in the House find before them what is substantially a brief for the Government or for the Opposition, and they can deal with it most effectually by the methods which they use every day in Court. There was, for example, that matter of the Charles et Georges. Most unfairly, as we must hold, towards the lawyers, the debate upon that question was never continued beyond a single evening. Sir Richard Bethell, if we remember right, moved the adjournment of the debate, which will, we suppose, be resumed on the same day which the House fixes for reading a second time the bills which it does not mean to pass. However that may be, many distinguished lawyers had to complain of the loss of an opportunity exactly suited to their tastes. By picking out a few lines of a despatch here, and a few lines there, a very plausible case might have been made out, and the minds of unlearned members might have been made out, and the minds of unlearned members might have been minovived in doubt even upon the merits of the Foreign Office. Indeed, if it had not been for the "immortal truths" so opportunely supplied by Lord Malmesbury for the guidance of the House, the obscurity of the question might have been made far greater. But by steadily holding on to these, it would have been possible to preserve one's clear opinion on the case even if every lawyer on the side of Government had been allowed to do his worst to mystify it. As it was, the discussion lasted but a single night, and the debate only threw a partial obscuration over the real question. Of what talk there was, however, the lawyers had a large share; and one of them, Mr. Bovill, was so carried away by a congenial theme, that he actually let drop an expression which proved that he fancied himself for the moment before a special jury.

In order to unlearn the habits gained by daily practice at the

single mains, and the decontering three was, however, the lawyers had a large share; and one of them, Mr. Bovill, was so carried away by a congenial theme, that he actually let drop an expression which proved that he fancied himself for the moment before a special jury.

In order to unlearn the habits gained by daily practice at the Bar, it would probably be necessary in almost all cases to abjure it as entirely as has been done by Mr. Walpole. It is commonly said of that gentleman by solicitors, who certainly are upon such a point no mean authorities, that in taking to politics he made a great sacrifice, for he night now have had the leading business in the Rolls Court. Different people, we know, form widely different ideas of greatness. It has been said, for instance, that he late Mr. Justice Maule entirely threw himself away, since he might have become the first mathematician in Europe if he had not wasted his fine intellect upon the law. No doubt it is a grand thing to be retained in almost every case in a particular Court, and such a reputation brings to its possessors many solid advantages of the kind most generally appreciated. If, however, a man's ambition prompts him to seek to play a leading part in politics, he had better relinquish in good time his hopes of professional emolument, and should not too confidently reckon on realizing any sufficient substitute. Mr. Walpole holds at this moment a conspicuous but surely not a lucrative position. As a pecuniary speculation, it must pay a man very poorly to be for seven years a leader of Lord Derby's party, but Mr. Walpole has felt himself obliged to relinquish even these miserable advantages. He might have been, as we have said, a leader in the Rolls Court—he preferred to be one of the leaders of a party in the House of Commons. A napoular assembly, we shall find that one cause of this failure is the narrow view generally taken by them of matters of the highest political miportance. The ablest of their speeches—and some of them, in their ways the selection

the Queen's Government is to be carried on has recently become very troublesome. The present holders of office appear to consider that their best hope lies in a vigorous employment of personalities. Both Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli have been giving to their Solicitor-General a practical lesson "how to do it" when next he finds that a speech can be most effectively wound up by denouncing the mischievous ambition of Lord John Russell. It is to be hoped, for the sake of the liveliness of the debates, that that same ambition will still continue to govern the noble Lord's conduct. If, unhappily, he should turn patriot, there would be really no option for Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli but to turn statesmen. And then, O ye gods! how dull would be their speeches! At present, they think it quite enough, in discussing a measure of Reform, to show that Lord John Russell, in some one of his many bills, has proposed something similar to that which is now objected to. As these various bills embrace almost all possible solutions of existing questions, it follows that the Government cannot adopt any plan for which reasons perfectly satisfactory to those who are content with this species of proof cannot be given. Between Lord John Russell with his dreadful constitutionalism, and Mr. Disraeli with his endless personalities, it is almost impossible to form a judgment upon any one of the leading points of the late Reform Bill. The one takes you back at a step to the Norman Conquest. The other solves all controversies by some reference to the history or historical romance of the Coalition Cabinet. If this will not satisfy your mind in the way of argument, you must contrive to convince yourself. It becomes, indeed, more and more apparent that when Mr. Disraeli is not personal he is nothing. People are saying that his speech the other day was a tame affair compared with former efforts, and so it was. But why? Because, for various reasons, he felt obliged to restrain his satire, of which he had plenty, and endeavour to produce solid arg pared with former efforts, and so it was. But why? Because, for various reasons, he felt obliged to restrain his satire, of which he had plenty, and endeavour to produce solid argument, of which he had none in him. We can see at one moment that he would like to make an onslaught in the old savage style upon Sir James Graham, but the events of the last twelvemonth scarcely allow that to be done with decency. At another moment one almost expects that he will, as the vulgar say, "have a go in at" Mr. Walpole, but even more powerful reasons forbid that that most respectable personage should be made a mark for envenomed shafts. It is best, therefore, to confine oneself to Lord John Russell, who, in this matter of Reform, has sufficiently exposed himself to sarcasm. It surely cannot be necessary to be very profound about this question of disfranchisement, as it is called, of freeholders. Let us have no pompous prosing about the Constitution. Did not Lord John Russell himself propose to disfranchise fifty thousand freemen? If so, he cannot be heard to object to the present plan, and nobody else, as a lawyer might express it, is before the Court. This is really the essence of all that Mr. Disraeli could find to urge in defence of one of the chief features of his Reform Bill. It used to be a favourite point of his to call upon his opponents for a policy. Now, when the same demand is made upon himself, he has nothing to offer but personalities. A policy!

I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word.

I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word.

MEN, NOT MEASURES.

THE melodrama of the Session is drawing quickly towards a termination. Mr. Bernal Osborne has well-nigh cracked his last joke, Sir Robert Peel cut his last caper, Sir Bulwer Lytton dropped his last tear. The curtain is about to fall on the motley group of jesters, actors, and supernumeraries that have been astonishing and amusing a grateful country. Hand in hand, advancing to the footlights and sweetly smiling, her Majesty's Ministers bow to the fascinated audience, pronounce the expected epilogue, and commend the play to the favour of an intelligent public. Satisfied or dissatisfied as the case may be, the spectators begin to think of stirring homewards. Soon the performers themselves will melt from off the stage, and leave its echoes to slumber till the next occasion. From now until the curtain again rises, there will be time enough for criticising the piece and canvassing the players of this Parliament of 1859. Before the lights die out, and the doors close, we may in fairness ask to be allowed to take one last look at the prominent members of the Cabinet, as they stand there making their obeisances to their countrymen. Even the "gallery" may call the greatest "guns" before the scenes. Who have a better right to scrutinize the actors than they on whose approbation the success of the piece depends?

Indeed Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli have set the fashion of discussing the character of public men. Each in his proper place has given us a complete résumé of Lord John Russell's life. Thanks to their aid, we have the noble Lord the member for London as plainly written down before us as if we had him epitomized for a family edition in three volumes. Short biographical sketches, with dates, dashed off about their political opponents, they considered would be excellent data for the country to go upon in the course of the coming election. They thought it advisable that Lord John, of all people in the world, should be represented to the eyes of England in his true colours. So the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with becom

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lately adopted of borrowing the best speeches of his leader in the Commons, and repeating them, improved and corrected, in his own language, for the benefit of his more aristocratic audience, endorsed the charge. "Restless!" says Mr. Disraeli, in the Commons. "Sadly restless!" says Lord Derby, shaking his head, in the Lords. And all the Conservative county members lift up their hands and eyes to Heaven, and look like pitying angels more in sorrow than in anger on a statesman who has the bad taste to be restless. We are not going most assuredly to defend Lord John against an accusation which is only too true. The Avvocato del Diavolo has a word or two to observe respecting most of our English politicians before they can be finally canonized and entered upon the Parliamentary calendar as political saints. But we must confess it is a little amusing to hear such an imputation proceed from such mouths. If it had been the noble Lord, the Secretary for India, taunting Sir Charles Wood with an imputation proceed from such mouths. If it had been the noble Lord, the Secretary for India, taunting Sir Charles Wood with being a prig, or if Mr. Hadfield had suddenly got up and exclaimed that Mr. Hudson was taking unfair liberties with her Majesty's aspirates, the case would have been entirely different. But for Mr. Disraeli, of all people, to object to inordinate affection for office, is a little too good. This, then, is the cry with which the Government proposes to go to the country. "Disraeli! Down with political restlessness!" All we can say is, that it is not a had one as a joke

to rake up the expiring ashes of the past. Let the dead bury of the Dark District of all people to incidinate affection for Government proposes to go to the country. "Distracil' Down with political repleasesses." All we can any is, that it is not had one—as a joke. But the can be present Chanceller of the Exchequer was nothing but a hopeful spirare, which "Genius rampan;" for his crest, and no decoration as yet upon his viriabilided, "Mon, and not Measures," was the herald is legard of seated on the Treasury Bench with many a trace of battle on its intel buckler, "Men, and not Measures," as till is used hower." Allow the most of the best which the present of the past of the present of th

rather retire into the quiet enjoyment of unofficial life; and with all our esteem for him, we must plead guilty to concurring in his wish that he were well out of Downing-street. He is a good, honest, eloquent old English gentleman. He is, besides this, a capital judge of horses. These qualifications may point him out as the proper person to be High Chancellor of the University of Oxford, but hardly seem to render it essential that he should also be Premier of Great Britain.

The master mind that guides Lord Derby, and, through him, guides the Cabinet, is Benjamin Disraeli. If the Sultan has little ambition, the Grand Vizier has enough for both, and to spare. Love of distinction is the one key that unlocks the great Caucasian mystery. He is never happy but when he is creating a sensation. If he speaks, it is in epigrams. If he even thinks to himself, it is with ulterior views of publication, and with muffled cheers at the most beautiful passages. Mr. Disraeli has forgotten much that he should have remembered; but one thing he has never forgotten, and that is "himself." Far be it from us to rake up the expiring ashes of the past. Let the dead bury their dead. But those who have read the history of the last twenty years cannot shut their eyes to the fact, that power, and power alone, has been his idol from the day when he fancied himself a genius, and began Vivian Grey, to this very week, when he has advised her Majesty to dissolve her present Parliament. In the pursuit of his own ends, he has shown himself (or his acts belie him) often unprincipled, and sometimes cruel. His inordinate vanity has reacted upon his intellectual capacity, and deteriorates from his practical usefulness as a man of business. He is what Sir James Graham said of his last creation, "Too clever by half." Fond of paradox, he is for ever endeavouring to carry out some exploded crotchet, or to invent some ingenious theory. The consequence is, that his ideas are unsound, and his measures impracticable. His Budgets and his Reform Bills are al

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ings. earn Perpetua," by Miss M. Gillies; No. 102, "A study of a Normandy Girl," by Adelaide Burgess; No. 157, "Rustic Courtship," by Miss G. Swift, are also instances of successful colouring in works of a more ambitious character than the sketches of Lady Belcher and Mrs. Sturch.

and Mrs. Sturch.

Among the landscapes, we are inclined to award the palm to No. 56, "The Glacier of Rosenlani, from the Grand Scheideck, Switzerland," by Miss Blake. The requisite aerial effect has been preserved in spite of a high degree of finish, a difficulty which water-colouriss too often fail in surmounting; and the point of view has been well selected, or the composition happily imagined. Nevertheless, we cannot help thinking that we detect an inaccuracy in one respect. That the cattle in the foreground are English rather than Swiss is a matter of secondary importance, though it cannot be denied that they rather impair the grandeur and wildness of the scene; and it would perhaps be unfair to hint a suspicion that there is a little exaggeration in the outline of the rock. We can, however, hardly be wrong in questioning the compatibility of the yellow light on the clouds with the pure white light on the snow. A cloud resting upon the top of an Alpine mountain is in itself as colourless as snow, and the rays which tinge the one would tinge the other. There is always a difficulty in imitating the dazzling brilliancy of a snow-mountain. To represent it perfectly is indeed utterly impossible; and the only way in which it can be done with any success is to conceal the greater part of it, and to introduce positive colour of some kind into all the rest of the painting. The exigencies of art, however, can never justify an absolute violation of natural laws; and if it is impossible to give the gradations of white and grey which clouds and snow exhibit; it is better to avoid any introduction of the former than to cut the knot by casting a yellow light upon them and a white light upon the snow. It is should be compared to the standard of the contrast of the scan and the colouring of the sea and rocky coast has a most unnatural and bilious appearance in the sky. No. 66, "Study of Rocks, Hastings," by M. M., a subject somewhat similar to the last, would be more an interest to the pair of the more distant they are the

by S. Wilkes (664), is an instance of how much a little carclessness of composition may disfigure a pretty sketch. It is a quiet river scene, with no very prominent features, except a clump of brightly coloured trees in the foreground. The only blue sky which appears is introduced immediately over these trees, and the drawing has in consequence a one-sided air, which in a larger work would be very considence on one-sided air, which in a larger work would be very considence on the part apt to pay too much attention to conventional rules of composition, and to lose thereby the variety which distinguishes natural scenery; but where a pleasing balance of the parts can be obtained by attending to the massing of the clouds, it is certainly unies to neglet so simple a resource. No. 659, "Capel Curig, North Wales," by F. G. Reynolds, is a pleasing and unpretending drawing. Nos. 653 and 640, the former "After the Storm," by T. Picken, and the latter "Little Hampton Harbour, Sussex," by R. H. Nibbs, would be better if their purples were less obtrusive. No. 765, "Mill in Ivy Gill, Cumberland," by J. B. Smith, would deserve more commendation if it were not so marked an initiation of Harding's manner. Nos. 628, "The East Cliff, Hastings," and 769, "The Gothie Rock, &c., Tenby," by G. L. Hall, are laborious, and probably were improving studies, but can scarcely be thought attractive pictures, and the same may be said of the "Study at Bude," by G. Whitaker (770).

Among the oil paintings, the best composition of figures seems to us to be "Children Nat Gathering," by E. J. Cobbett (188). The drawing and colouring are extremely good. There are many more works by the same artist in the extibition, and of which show that most important quality—three fields of the painting, the consequence is, that those portions which are most conveniently studied, such as a piece of drapery, acquire a laborared and the rest of the present insided as a task. This is a fault which has become very common since the rise of the present of the present

tion for the doctrine; but if there is any, it is probably owing to the fact that such vertical arrangements are associated in the mind with the notion of a reflection in a still sheet of water. To this, the most natural and obvious method of producing such this, the most natural and obvious method of producing such repetitions, there can in most cases be no objection. In No. 109, another view of the Pass of Nantfrangon, Mr. Tennant has flooded his foreground with sunshine, and illumined a distant ravine with a flash of lightning. Is this possible? His sky, it is true, is not quite the purum which excited the dismay of Horace under similar circumstances, but we must confess that if we were to see such a combination of storm and sunshine as we have here, we should feel quite as much astonished as at the spectacle of Diespiter driving through the blue sky.

Mr. W. Shayer has spoiled his landscapes by an injudicious use of some kind of black, which gives them a very dingy look. In No. 172, "On the Beach near Hastings," the blue sky—or rather that part which is meant to represent blue sky—is the

In No. 172, "On the Beach near Hastings," the blue sky—or rather that part which is meant to represent blue sky—is the colour of smoke, while in some other instances it inclines too much to purple. Having blackened his sky, it was perhaps necessary to make his sea correspond; otherwise the dark hue of the latter would be utterly false. Setting aside this eccentricity, the picture in question is one of the most attractive of the kind in the Exhibition, the colouring being in other respects satisfactory and harmonious.

REVIEWS.

LORD MACAULAY'S LIFE OF PITT.*

THE seventeenth volume of the eighth edition of the Encyclo-THE seventeent volume of the eighth edition of the Encyclopadia Britannica presents a combination of learning and genius so remarkable and heterogeneous as to suggest the question whether there is any reason for the existence of Encyclopadias except the loyalty of publishers to a respectable superstition. Sir John Herschel and Mr. Owen may fairly be placed on a level with Lord Macaulay, but they address a different audience. Mr. Pitt is oddly assorted with Physical Geography, of which he had never heard, and with Palmontography, which he could not possibly have understood. Dr. Donaldson's Philology and Sir David Brewster's Photography can scarcely command half-a-dozen readers in common; nor would St. Paul and St. Peter, even in juxtaposition with Sir Robert Peel, naturally suggest the topic of Partnership, as discussed by Mr. McCulloch, in reference to limited or unlimited liability. As long, however, as it is thought necessary that brilliant biographies should be buried in thick quarto volumes by the side of recondite treatises on science, the spirit and enterprise with which the Encyclopadia Britannica is conducted ought to receive just appreciation. In a more compendious form, many of the articles in the present volume will probably take their place hereafter in literature and science as standard abridgments, and one of the biographies will acquire a wider popularity as a model in the style of composition to which it belongs.

science as standard abridgments, and one of the biographies will acquire a wider popularity as a model in the style of composition to which it belongs.

The editor of the Encyclopædia has fortunately allowed Lord Macaulay sufficient room for a masterly review of the political career which, in the absence of a personal history, makes up the biography of Pitt. The few details and anecdotes which are preserved by Wilberforce and by Lady Hester Stanhope seem to show that the Minister, who is only remembered as he appeared in public, was playful in manner, tender in feeling, and original in thought; but his contemporary biographer was a dull mathematician expanded into a money-making bishop, and his memory has suffered from his neglect of the lettered and intellectual class who would have appreciated and recorded his powers. The fabulous attributes which have been attached to his name by friends and by enemies have gradually faded away from English belief, though patriotic French writers still regard him with admiring horror as a mixture of a demigod and a demon. Lord Macaulay justly ridicules the Pittites who denounced, in the name of their hero, the principles of Free-trade, of Tolerance, and of Reform, of which he had been the most eloquent advocate. The Whig calumnies which represented Pitt as a lover of war and an enemy of freedom may perhaps have been thought no longer to require a similar exposure.

It was not to be expected that Lord Macaulay, though he is

and an enemy of freedom may perhaps have been thought no longer to require a similar exposure.

It was not to be expected that Lord Macaulay, though he is studiously fair to the memory of Pitt, should abstain from the use of the antithetic paradoxes by which he has so often brought historical characters forward into bold and artificial relief. The rise of the young statesman is justly described as a series of rapid and uninterrupted successes. "In the midst of these trumphs Pitt completed his twenty-fifth year. He was now the greatest subject that England had seen during many generations. He domineered absolutely over the Cabinet, and was the favourite at once of the Sovereign, of the Parliament, and of the nation. His father had never been so powerful, nor Walpole, nor Marlborough." In examining the sources and nature of his greatness, the biographer remarks that in an age of Parliamentary Government a successful statesman necessarily exerted his energies in the only direction in which they could be effectively employed. "He accordingly became the greatest master in the whole art of Parliamentary Government that has ever existed—a greater than Montague or Walpole, a greater than his father

Life of Pitt. By Lord Macaulay: "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xvii., Eighth Edition.

Chatham or his rival Fox, a greater than either of his illustrious successors, Canning or Peel."

A moderate familiarity with Lord Macaulay's style will suggest the well-founded expectation that the definition of Pitt's distinctive faculty is followed by a spirited digression on Parliamentary Government, or rather on the mode of influencing a large and sovereign assembly. "Parliamentary Government is Government by speaking. In such a Government the power of speaking is the most highly prized of all the qualities that a politician can possess; and that power may exist in the highest degree without judgment, without fortitude, without skill in reading the characters of men, or the signs of the times, without any knowledge of the principles of legislation, or of political economy, and without any skill in diplomacy or in the administration of war." It of course follows that "a Charles Townshend or a Windham" will exercise more influence under a Parliamentary system than men like Oliver Cromwell who spoke badly, or like the first William of Orange, who seldom spoke at all. "From the Book of Dignities a curious list might be made out of Chanlike the first William of Orange, who seldom spoke at all. "From the Book of Dignities a curious list might be made out of Chanthe Book of Digitties a curious list might be made out of Chan-cellors ignorant of the principles of equity, and First Lords of the Admiralty ignorant of the principles of navigation, of Colonial Ministers who could not repeat the names of the Colonies, of Lords of the Treasury who did not know the difference between funded and unfunded debt, and of Secretaries of the India Board who did not know whether the Mahrattas were Mahome-

tans or Hindoos.'

It is satisfactory to find that the academic art of disputation on either side of any thesis still flourishes in the midst of English fogs and prejudices; and yet it scarcely seems worth while for the historical champion of the Revolution to compete with M. de la Guerronière and M. Granier de Cassagnac for the prize awarded to libels upon freedom. If no better argument against despotism could be found than that with which Lord Macaulay meets his own sophisms, the Court writers of the Tuileries would enjoy an easy triumph over the feeble advocates of constitutional liberty. "Men of sense will probably think the remedy very much worse than the disease, and will be of opinion that there would be small gain in exchanging Charles Townshend and Windham for the Prince of the Peace, or the poor slave and dog Steenie." Men of sense will rather inquire whether the disease requires a remedy before they adopt a dilemma which, after Lord Macaulay's fashion, includes one artificial horn made to match the other. There is not the smallest occasion for choosing between an unprincipled orator It is satisfactory to find that the academic art of disputation on includes one artificial horn made to match the other. There is not the smallest occasion for choosing between an unprincipled orator and a dumb Godoy. Under an absolute system, the favourite of Charles IV. and the paramour of his Queen was master of Spain, to govern and to betray; while in England, Charles Townshend was never the head of an Administration, nor even the leader of a party. The apology for Parliamentary government, if it is to have any value, must be equally applicable on the assumption that despots are served by the ablest Ministers. Ximenes and Sully, Richelieu and Colbert, are not names to be used merely to point a sophistical antithesis; and the true answer to the advocates of monarchy is, not that Parliamentary leaders have been greater statesmen, but that while Spain or France has merely submitted to vigorous rulers, England has used the agency of Pitt or of Peel for governing herself. It is utterly untrue that Parliamentary government is merely government by speaking. Pitt or of Peel for governing herself. It is utterly untrue that Parliamentary government is merely government by speaking. Neither Townshend nor Windham nor Sheridan ever possessed power in the State which could be considered in any degree proportionate to their oratorical ability. Within living memory, Lord Aithorp led the House of Commons and the Duke of Wellington for many years absolutely governed the House of Lords. The eloquence which might perhaps be an indispensable condition of Pitt's long supremacy was nevertheless but the instrument of a lofty character and of a solid judgment. There is an element of truth in the assertion that while he put forth all his powers in Parliamentary contests, he gave only "the leavings of his time and the dregs of his fine intellect" to legislation, to diplomacy, and to administration; but in the he put forth all his powers in Parliamentary contests, he gave only "the leavings of his time and the dregs of his fine intellect" to legislation, to diplomacy, and to administration; but in the same sense the broadest caricature, the most exaggerated disposition of lights and shades, may be defended as bringing into prominence some particular fragment of reality. As Lord Macaulay himself fully admits, Pitt had the faculty of speaking almost without any conscious intellectual effort; and it would be absurd to suppose that because he spent his evenings in controlling the House of Commons, he was compelled to waste his days in preparing his speeches. It is possible that he may have attached too much importance to the maintenance of his Parliamentary influence, although during the greater part of his career it was practically undisputed, but at all times the defence and justification of his conduct was the easiest and pleasantest part of his duties. Beyond the walls of the House he was indefatigably active; nor did his very mistakes bear any trace of the languor which Lord Macaulay attributes to the jaded rhetorician. His financial experiments alone, though they were often questionable in principle, were so numerous and ingenious that they might have been sufficient to occupy an ordinary Ministerial career. The variety of his Budgets, in the latter portion of his administration, may perhaps be explained by the vast and constant demand for additional revenue to meet the demands of the war; but even in the prosperous years before the French Revolution, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was incessantly shifting and redistributing the public burdens, which were, as he hioped, to be permanently relieved by the reduction of the debt. Lord Macaulay, delighted with a paradox which, for once, is not of his own creation, natu-

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rally ridicules the juggle of a sinking fund which was to operate by virtue of "some mysterious power of propagation belonging to money." It would not suit the purpose of an epigrammatist to remember that, after all, the sinking fund would have done its work if the juggle by which the nation was persuaded to pay its debts at a certain sacrifice could have been maintained until its object was accomplished. The war cut short all his schemes of improvement; but if it could have been postponed for twenty years, the country which Pitt left the greatest and richest in Europe would also have been the most lightly taxed.

While he was still at liberty to occupy himself with domestic affairs, his administration was attended by results which, with a creditable inconsistency, after finishing his diatribe on Parliamentary orators, Lord Macaulay cordially acknowledges. The schism between the Crown and the country was finally healed by a Minister whom even the Whig aristocracy could neither denounce as a favourite of the Court nor claim as a nominee of their own. Within a year from his accession to power, Pitt created a constitution for India which continued to work with extraordinary success until its wanton destruction in 1858. In 1785, he induced the King to sanction a Reform Bill, which unluckily proved abortive. In 1786 he concluded a commercial treaty for reciprocal free-trade between England and France. Two years later he conducted the State, with admirable spirit and prudence, through the dangers of an interregnum, although his difficulty was increased to the utmost by the unconstitutional violence and greedy ambition of Fox. Even in the midst of the great European struggle, he effected, by the union with Ireland, the greatest and most indispensable task which could be imposed on any English Minister. There never was a statesman of whom it could be said with less truth that he gave the sap and strength of his mind to the comparatively barren business of debating. Lord Macaulay would not have made the charge if it had

That Pitt was not a successful war-minister is a proposition now generally admitted; and his biographer does him the justice to show that his own inclination would have induced him to prefer the maintenance of peace. "In the spring of 1792, he congratulated the Parliament on the prospect of long and profound peace; and proved his sincerity by proposing large remissions of taxation." Unfortunately, the French demagogues were determined on provoking a conflict; and all but the disaffected classes in England were eager to accept the challenge. Lord Macaulay is of opinion that, finding it impossible to oppose the current of circumstances, the Minister "should have proclaimed a Holy War for religion, morality, property, order, public law, and should thus have opposed to the Jacobins an energy equal to their own." It may be doubted whether any crusading impulse could have multiplied the millions which were voted by Parliament; and to rival the number of the French levies, it would have been necessary to drive the population into the field to would have been necessary to drive the population into the field by offering them the Jacobin alternative of starving and of mur-dering or being murdered at home. Pitt's military measures strongly resembled those which had raised his father to the summit dering or being murdered at home. Pitt's military measures strongly resembled those which hadraised his father to the summit of European reputation; but Dumouriez and Pichegru, in the place of Soubise and Richelieu, were fighting for their heads, and not to win the smiles of a Royal mistress. No field of Minden gave the Duke of York an opportunity of showing that he was braver than Lord George Sackville, and the time was past in which an English contingent could serve with advantage or reputation in concert with a German army on the Continent. It is not strictly true that in the eight years of the war the English army became the laughing stock of Europe, and a memory less complete than that of Lord Macaulay might have recalled the Egyptian campaign as an instance of success which was undoubtedly isolated and exceptional. In the mean time, the strength and resources of England were visibly increasing, and before the death of the great Minister, Trafalgar had closed the long series of victories which secured the undisputed dominion of the sea. During the long struggle Pitt had resolutely cherished the indomitable spirit of the nation. "If some great misfortune, a pitched battle lost by the allies, the annexation of a new department to the French Republic, a sanguinary insurrection in Ireland, a mutiny in the fleet, a panic in the City, a run on the Bank, had spread dismay through the ranks of the majority, that dismay lasted only till he rose from the Treasury bench, drew up his haughty head, stretched his arm with commanding gesture, and poured forth, in deep and sonorous tones, the lofty language of inextinguishable hope and inflexible resolution."

The ability displayed in organizing the successive coalitions resolution

resolution."

The ability displayed in organizing the successive coalitions against France has been more fully appreciated by the enemy, who was repeatedly brought to the verge of ruin, than by a country habitually unwilling to rely upon foreign assistance. No human prudence could anticipate the return of Bonaparte from Egypt, the change of fortune in the afternoon of Marengo, the surprise of Ulm—which at least relieved England from the threat of invasion—or the decisive victory of Austerlitz. Between 1793 and 1815, of a thousand millions spent in thewar, one-twentieth part expended in subsidies produced results almost equal to the efforts of the fleets and armies which formed the equivalent for the remaining nine hundred and fifty millions. Three of the great coalitions organized by Pitt himself were among the cheapest of his political combinations. His own military administration was undoubtedly

wasteful and inefficient, and his financial errors were publicly acknowledged, and to the utmost of his power repaired by himself. Few other statesmen would have had the courage, after doubling the National Debt, to announce the necessity of sup-

self. Few other statesmen would have had the courage, after doubling the National Debt, to announce the necessity of supporting the war out of revenue, and to commence the experiment with a 10 per cent. income-tax.

In truth, Pitt had miscalculated the duration of the struggle, and when he found that complete success was hopeless, he devoted all his efforts to the attainment of peace. Lord Macaulay omits all mention of Lord Malmesbury's fruitless negotiations with the Directory, and of Pitt's carnest injunctions to his agent to accomplish his object if it were in any way possible. At the commencement of a struggle certain to last formany years, or of a crusade in defence of order against revolution, the Government would have adapted its preparations to their object with more systematic deliberation. "It may seem," says Lord Macaulay—and he may well say so—"paradoxical tosay that the incapacity which Pitt showed in all that related to the conduct of the war is in some sense the most decisive proof that he was a man of very extraordinary abilities—yet this is the simple truth." It is somewhat less paradoxical to affirm the simpler truth that the power conferred by courage, by ability, and by eloquence, was rendered less effective through the presence of certain weaknesses and defects; but it is not easy to render a truism as striking as a fallacy which attracts, by the facility of apprehending the words, the willing acquiescence of ingenuous minds in the supposed profundity of the meaning.

In consequence, not of the incapacity of the writer, but of his genius and practised skill, the Life of Pitt is, with all its defects, in a high degree interesting and instructive. The combination of the scanty materials of personal biography with the historical narrative indicates a rare mastery of the art of composition. When Lord Macaulay's Essay is published in a more portable form, it will probably furnish several generations with an estimate not altogether unjust nor wholly inadequate of one of the greatest of English st

PALEY'S MORAL PHILOSOPHY.

THE Archbishop of Dublin's edition of Paley's Moral Philosophy is a book of which the editor and the author have somewhat similar claims to attention. Making allowances for the difference between different generations, and also for that slight difference between different generations, and also for that slight but deep distinction which appears to attach almost invariably to the members of the two Universities, we might almost have thought that the Archdeacon and the Archdishop were successive avatars of the same person, if there had been no physical impossibility in the supposition. Each has the same extraordinary clearness and point of style, each the same hearty terseness, and each has that legal temper of mind which is very uncommon in any one who has not had a legal training, and especially uncommon amonest the clergy.

clearness and point of style, each the same hearty terseness, and each has that legal temper of mind which is very uncommon in any one who has not had a legal training, and especially uncommon amongst the clergy.

Few things are more curious than the lasting popularity and authority which this and his other works have conferred upon Paley; and nothing can be a more remarkable instance of the immense importance of style—of the power of stating opinions clearly, courageously, and with pointed and appropriate illustrations. As our readers are aware, Paley's book is absolutely nothing more than a clear and short epitome of a theory of morals at least as old as Epicurus, connected with Christianity by considerations of the most obvious kind, and followed by a neat summary of a variety of obvious, or at most not very recondite, duties. Indeed, Paley himself, in his preface, states with perfect truth that his work is little more than an abstract of that part of the diffuse but most remarkable book of Abraham Tucker which bears upon his subject. Though, however, the matter of the work is open to these observations, it would be almost impossible to overpraise its style. Reading Paley is like listening to the speech of a first-rate advocate who has thoroughly mastered his brief; and it might fairly be said that a large proportion of the other works which have been written on the subject are little more than briefs, more or less ill drawn, from which Paley spoke. Indeed, the whole turn of Paley's mind was that of an advocate. Lardner's Testimonies stands in precisely the same relation to the Evidences as the Light of Nature does to the Moral Philosophy; and in just the same manner the Natural Theology contains no original investigations, but is merely a resume of more extensive and original, but less well-known, books. It was probably this absence of originality which induced Paley to elaborate his style with such extraordinary care and success; and it has none of that incompleteness and disproportion which must always ma

^{*} Patey's Moral Philosophy. By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1859.

in the very opposite light. The subjects on which he wrote engage not only the affections but the prejudices of mankind so vehemently, that it is impossible to over-estimate the advantage of finding one writer upon whose immovable consistency the most implicit reliance may always be placed. He is, no doubt, an advocate and not a judge; but he is an honest advocate, from whose statements the logical consequences of any given premiss may be inferred with almost infallible certainty. It is but once or twice that Archbishop Whately takes exception to his logic, though he differs from him upon several questions which have been usually looked upon as essentially necessary to the solution of the question which he entertains. Why there should be anything immoral in a division of labour in controversy, when it is admitted in all other intellectual pursuits, we cannot even conjecture. That writers should always feel themselves called upon to mix up sentiment with argument, to make a point of expressing their detestation of opinions with which they do not agree, and not only to state their convictions on all occasions in the strongest shape, but to rate at the very highest the grounds on which those opinions are entertained, has always appeared to us to be one of the greatest of the many difficulties which custom imposes upon those who handle moral or theological subjects. The gist of most of the accusations of heartlessness and the like which it is usual to bring against Paley, is nothing more than that he did not observe in his writings this most unwise conventional rule.

If we turn from the form to the substance of Paley's book,

usual to bring against Paley, is nothing more than that he did not observe in his writings this most unwise conventional rule.

If we turn from the form to the substance of Paley's book, the controversies which it has excited may perhaps be considered to afford one of the most perfect illustrations that could be mentioned of the facility with which the very clearest and most powerful thinkers fall into confusion respecting the nature of the questions which they have to solve, if the task of dividing them has not been performed by others. Many as have been the disputes respecting the questions which lie at the bottom of all systems of morality, it is only of late years that the fact that they can be considered upon independent grounds, and are not merely different ways of expressing two opinions on the subject, has been invested with anything like the prominence which it deserves; and even now it is by no means well understood or generally admitted. Archbishop Whately's notes appear to some extent to bring out the distinction in question, but they do not state it categorically; and Paley repeatedly uses language which proves that if the distinction presented itself to his mind, he did not consider it to rest on solid grounds.

It is often asserted, and almost always assumed, that the only question respecting the foundation of morality is, whether the ultimate decision in disputed questions is to be referred to the conscience or moral sense, by whatever name it may be called, or to the principle of utility, according to which the moral quality, of an action is determined by its tendency to produce on the whole a balance of happiness. But closer attention will, we think, make it apparent that, in fact, the inquiry as to the nature and test of morality can by no means be settled in so summary a manner. It involves a considerable variety of perfectly independent considerations, which can only be properly estimated by methods which have as yet been but little cultivated, and which may probably tend to results far mor

and there can be no doubt that the task of discovering such definitions of terms in popular use as may best explain the associations under which, and the connexions in which, they are used, is a very important one, especially because such definitions, when once propounded, exercise a very important influence over that which they have defined.

It is, however, essential to remember, that in framing a definition the principal question to be considered is always a question of fact. The person who defines, gives, or ought to give, not his own view of the subject which he defines, but the nearest approach that he can obtain to an account of what is passing in the minds of his neighbours. The art of constructing a definition consists in finding a sufficiently large and well-marked class of facts answering pretty correctly to a word in popular use, and in appropriating the word for the future to that class of facts apart from all others. It is thus obvious that to construct a definition of common popular phrases is a very different thing from enunciating a complete theory of the subject to which the definition refers. If in this view a man tries to construct a definition of the words "good" or "bad" as applied to actions, he may very naturally say that he observes that in fact they are applied respectively to those courses of conduct which produce happiness or the reverse; nor is it easy to see why the fact that he adopts that conclusion should expose him to the imputation of teaching a selfish system of morals,

or should preclude him from believing in the existence of conscience. It is most curious and most instructive to observe how the three distinct questions—In what does the difference between right and wrong consist? how am I to know whether an action is right or wrong? why should I do what is right?—are usually confounded together. It is totally untrue to say that there is anything selfish or degrading in Bentham's theory that the test of the morality of an action is its tendency to produce a maximum of happiness. If any one held and taught the doctrine that an exclusive view to the promotion of his own individual happiness was the only principle on which every man ought to govern his conduct, he might no doubt be accused, with considerable fairness, of taking a sordid view of human life; but the bare belief that the test of the morality of an action is its tendency to produce happiness is entirely consistent with the most sublime self-sacrifice, and, in point of fact, almost all persons adopt it when they are not arguing about the matter. Indeed, that course is inevitable when more than one person is a party to the discussion of the morality of a proposed course of conduct. On occasions, the only alternative lies between an internal and an external standard of morality; and as all discussion implies that there is a possibility of agreement between the parties to the argument, and that they tacitly consent to abide by some principle accessible to each, it follows that an external standard of morality is invariably assumed; for if the standard dohosen were internal, it would follow either that only one of the disputants could have access to it, or that each would have a standard of his own. Whenever general rules are discussed, they are discussed upon the assumption that results are tho test of their soundness, and no one has ever yet been able to bring forward an instance in which adherence to a general rule, which in the long run confessedly produced more pain than pleasure, could be justified in a free discuss

experience—as an index to the moral goodness of a coarse of conduct, in preference to its conformity to a standard which is always subject to dispute.

As we have already observed, any agreement with the Paleyan and Benthamite theory as to the test of morality by no means implies—though it is usually and very unjustly supposed to imply—an agreement with their views as to the other questions which are commonly regarded as essential to the construction of a theory of morality. These are the two questions which apply general morality to particular cases:—How am I to know what is right? and Why should I do right? These questions are entirely independent of the general one to which we have already referred, for they admit of being decided in opposite ways, whilst the decision on the first point remains unchanged. There would obviously be no inconsistency in either of the following creeds upon the subject of morality. A man might say, "I believe that those actions which generally tend to produce happiness are right, and that those which generally tend to produce misery are wrong; and I also believe that every man has an internal monitor by which he is warned to do those actions which generally tend to produce happiness and to avoid those which generally tend to produce misery." Or he might say,—"I believe that actions are right or wrong in virtue of their conformity or nonconformity with a certain transcendental those actions which generally tend to produce happiness and to avoid those which generally tend to produce misery." Or he might say,—"I believe that actions are right or wrong in virtue of their conformity or nonconformity with a certain transcendental rule which has no known or assignable connexion with their general tendency to produce either happiness or the reverse; and I hold that men have no internal monitor by which they are reminded of this rule, but that there is a tradition respecting it which is the best and the only true evidence of its provisions." In other words, a man might believe in the utilitarian theory of the nature of morals, and also in the supremacy of conscience; or he might believe in a transcendental theory of the nature of morality, and utterly repudiate the doctrine that conscience existed at all, or that, if it did exist, it was a safe guide to the appreciation of the moral character of actions. The doctrine of the guidance of conscience, and the doctrine that happiness is the test of morality, stand in absolutely no logical relation whatever. They are as independent of each other as the questions whether a particular road goes to London, and whether a particular man can show you the London road. Yet such has been the determination of most persons who have written on these matters to find out, not how people are made, but how they might be made, that it would be hard to name any one who, assuming an external standard of morality, admitted the existence of conscience, or who, admitting the standar It is the exis who de cular a been th fully m the gen disting anomal rently i these 1 which ordinar affirms The entirel tioned. by Pale should

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It is perhaps a still more curious point in the controversy upon the existence of conscience, that both those who affirm and those who deny it usually assume that, if it exists at all, it must be the same in all men at all times. Paley argues that it does not exist, because, he says, in various times and countries different views have prevailed as to the lawfulness and merit of particular actions, so that the crimes of one age and nation have been the virtues of another. Archbishop Whately, as we understand him, considers that this objection would be fatal if it were fully made out; but he maintains that there is such a uniformity in the general dictates of conscience from age to age, that we can distinguish between its normal operations and its occasional anomalies, and thus he preserves that unanimity which he apparently feels to be essential to its authority, if not to its existence. We are quite at a loss to understand the principle upon which these arguments proceed. That the word "conscience" has a meaning seems quite indisputable. What the thing may be which it represents—whether it is the same in all men and in all ages—whether it is acted on by circumstances, like the ordinary powers of the mind, or whether it differs from them in kind—and if so, whether or not it is consistent in its operations—are all questions of fact; and surely it is not a little rash to say that they are questions of so obvious a character that the affirmative or negative of any one of them can be assumed without definite and prolonged historical investigation.

The third question—"Why should I do right?"—is obviously entirely independent of both of the others which we have mentioned. Perhaps the most interesting remark which its treatment by Paley suggests is, that it is singular that he, like other writers, should have assumed that it is a question which not only admits of, but requires, a complete and peremptory answer. His answer

The third question—"Why should I do right?"—is obviously entirely independent of both of the others which we have mentioned. Perhaps the most interesting remark which its treatment by Paley suggests is, that it is singular that he, like other writers, should have assumed that it is a question which not only admits of, but requires, a complete and peremptory answer. His answer is simple and emphatic to the last degree—namely, that if you do right you will go to heaven, and if you do wrong to hell, which solution he says, "goes to the bottom of the subject, as no further question can reasonably be asked." No doubt the solution goes to the bottom of the question; but it does not go to all sides of it. Apart from theological considerations, it may be observed that neither Paley's view nor that of the Archbishop of Dublin—which we understand to be that men are in some way bound by the constitution of their nature to act in a particular manner—would carry conviction to those who did not exactly coincide with them; and, in fact, neither of these views is the one on which people really do model their conduct. It has always appeared to us that the subject is eminently one of those to which the maxim $\pi \lambda \ell o \nu \tilde{\eta} \mu \omega \nu \pi \omega \nu \sigma s$ applies. A probable reason is better than one which "goes to the bottom of the question." The reason why a man should do right is partly because his conscience (whether it be a natural or an artificial element of his nature) tells him to do so—partly because there is a strong and general belief that it is advisable to do so, which belief is confirmed by an enormous quantity of evidence of various kinds, direct and indirect—partly because it is generally a man's interest to act right—on the whole, because it appears to be on every account the best course to take. Why it should be supposed that, when there are so many good probable reasons for a particular line of conduct, it should be indispensable to their stability that they should be fortified by some final and conclusive one, is not very

Being.

Of the various conclusions which Paley's book, and the Archbishop of Dublin's commentary suggest, none undoubtedly is so important as that the time for argument on these subjects has almost gone by. What is it possible to add to such writers as Paley, Bentham, Butler, and others who might readily be mentioned, except observations pointing out which are the weak, and which the strong points of their respective systems, and what are the limits of the questions which they discussed. This, however, is a very narrow field. We sincerely believe that it would be no impossible, perhaps no very difficult task, to exhibit a synopsis of all the metaphysical views which it is possible to take upon the eternal topics of controversy which have exercised the understandings of so many generations. "What shall the man do that comes after the king?" Though, however, the metaphysical labyrinth is pretty well explored, there is another department of inquiry upon these matters which is hardly touched; and whenever we are led to re-examine the standard metaphysical authorities, we are equally struck with the degree in which it has been overlooked or neglected, and with the magnitude of the results which may be expected from its cultivation. This is the historical side of the question. About half of Paley's Moral Philosophy is occupied by disputations on political philosophy, as he calls it, though he uses the words in a sense somewhat different from that in which they are generally applied in these days. Almost the whole of hisviews on this subject are ultimately founded on certain theories about natural rights and the state of nature.

These questions are all by right historical questions, and the result of this arbitrary mode of treating them—a mode common to all parties at that period—is that assumptions of the most thoroughly arbitrary kind take the place of historical inquiry. Thus Paley goes into the question of the origin of property, and the origin of wills, purely upon grounds of what he calls natural law. He gives a chapter on "the history of property," which consists of a page and a quarter, and is entirely composed of a series of assumptions. Thus, he says, the "fruits which a man gathered, and the wild animals he caught, were the first objects of property;" and as to wills, he says that the power of making a will of the produce of a man's own personal labour is a natural right. In a word, like almost all writers on what is called natural law, whenever anything appears to him to be obviously expedient or extremely probable, he immediately makes it into an historical fact. Now the fact is that history, patiently examined, can tell us a vast deal about the origin of property and the origin of wills, and it discloses results of the most curious and unexpected kind—for example, the connexion between wills and the practice of adoption; nor can any study be more interesting than that of the growth of those institutions which believers in natural law trace by an à priori method. Whenever the historical method is applied by competent persons to the investigation of moral and metaphysical questions, and to the history of metaphysical conceptions, we shall see results which will throw into the shade the ingenuity of à priori reasoners upon these subjects.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DE LAMENNAIS.*

THE biography of De Lamennais is likely to prove more interesting to Englishmen than his works. We start with such a profound disbelief in the whole theory of democratic Catholicism, and such a complete distrust of the kind of mind that can be content to embrace it, that we can never seriously attempt to throw ourselves into the frame of thought necessary to enjoy the writings of one of its apostles. Catholicism seems to Englishmen either too large or too small to square very exactly with what we mean by liberty. If Catholicism is to embrace all that De Lamennais wished it to embrace—if it is to be a new religion of love that shall include, regulate, and systematise all those vague ideas that cluster around the modern notions of democracy, humanity, and equality—it becomes merely the symbolic name for the dreams and sentiments of visionaries and enthusiasts tinged with a faint colouring of religion. If Catholicism is the historical, actual, centralized Catholicism of the present day, such as we see it in Southern Europe, with its legions of half-educated priests and its alliances with Emperors and bayonets, however great may be its strength, however useful may be its functions, it does not present one single point in which its action is characteristically in favour of freedom. That the Catholicism of the Austrian Concordat could be transmuted into the Catholicism of French visionary philosophers, is in the last degree improbable. But even if it could, it is equally improbable that its new phase would assist the development of what we mean by liberty. Eloquent, therefore, and original as are the writings of De Lamennais, they will always fail on this side of the Channel to excite the interest which may attend them in their own country. We do not desire the end at which De Lamennais aimed, and we do not believe in the efficacy of the means he advocated. There is, therefore, a perpetual barrier between him and us which we cannot hope to overcome.

But his life was very interesting, and his Correspondence presents

But his lite was very interesting, and his Correspondence presents many materials from which we can gather what he felt and suffered at the different stages of his career. Unfortunately, the volumes now published by M. Forgues only contain the letters of De Lamennais down to the year 1840. A lawsuit decided that M. Forgues, as literary executor, was prevented from publishing any letters which De Lamennais had not himself collected for the purpose of his biography, and we therefore stop at the date where the collection made by De Lamennais stopped. To balance this unfortunate deficiency, we have a long preface by M. Forgues, containing his "Recollections" of De Lamennais during a period of nearly thirty years. Altogether, therefore, we have a tolerably complete and faithful picture of De Lamennais throughout all the portion of his life that was in any way remarkable. We can see what his history really was. It was the history of a mind which, penetrated with the philosophy of the eighteenth century, was also penetrated with the ardent belief of a Breton Catholic. For many years these two influences worked together. In his first stage, the habits and traditions of his family, the lessons of his infancy, the education of his youth, the avocations of his profession, made his Catholicism predominate, and his democratic philosophy merely gavehimzeal, vivacity, and a buoyant hope in the future of his creed. As his mind matured, the longing for a democratic Utopia took possession of him, and Catholicism became the instrument by which it was to be realized. Subsequently, he found that Catholicism, the actual Catholicism with which he had to do, strongly objected to being used as the instrument for such an end. The leaders and guides of Catholicism had not the slightest wish to give up the certain support of the party of order for the chance of acting as a sort of official fountain of blessing to a possible democratic Paradise. De Lamennais had to choose between what he meant by a Republic and what they meant by

* Œuvres Posthumes de F. Lamennais. Publiées, selon le vœu de l'Auteur, par E. D. Forgues. Correspondance. Paris: Paulin et Le Chevalier. 1859.

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Catholicism, and he chose the former. But the period of struggle was a long one, and forms the third marked epoch in his life. After his choice was once made, he settled into a Republican opponent of the Monarchy of July. Perhaps no life is better worth studying if we wish to understand some of the most characteristic modes of modern French thought. De Lamennais strikingly illustrates what, until we are accustomed to it, seems so strange—that men can be zealous Catholics and zealous opponents of Catholicism without the slightest reference to the question whether Catholicism, as a form of religious belief, is true. If Catholicism would consent to answer democratic purposes, De Lamennais was ready to be a Catholic. We do not understand this sort of thing in England. A man may affect religious opinions in order to attain a political object, but he knows very well that he does not believe those opinions. The state of mind of men like De Lamennais is not at all parallel. He was ready to be a sincere Catholic, if it could but be made worth his while. He neither believed nor disbelieved his religion. He treated with it, offering himself at a certain price. The consequence was, that he was never far from Catholicism. The priests, to the last hour of his life, expected he would once more conform; and what is much more important, his whole way of thinking and reasoning, which was eminently French, was also, and always continued to be, eminently Catholic. What the French call logic, floods of which De Lamennais used to pour out in monologues to his listening friends, is really composed of ingenious deductions, after the manner of the scholastic philosophy, from the hypothesis of the possible existence of a grand universal scheme of human society; and this scheme is vaguely modelled after the pattern of that conception of a universal religious empire which inspired medieval Catholicism. In 1848, De Lamennais was appointed a member of the Committee for drawing up a new Constitution. He presented to his colleagues an elabora

political truth.

De Lamennais was born in 1782, at St. Malo, and was the son of a wealthy merchant recently ennobled. He was educated in the school of the strictest and narrowest Catholicism, and, after the Revolution broke out, religion had all the additional charm which it wears to imaginative minds when it is proscribed. The family assembled in a garret to hear mass, and a table with two candles on it served for the altar. He and an elder brother studied under a maternal uncle, and the brothers published, as early as 1808, as the result of their study and their Catholic education, a sort of manifesto against the oppression exercised by Napoleon against the Church. The book had the honour of being seized by the police, but the authors, two youths in the solitudes of Brittany, were left unmolested. De Lamennais remained in this remote province until 1815, when he crossed first to Guernsey and thence to London. There he became acquainted with a young Englishman named Henry Moorman, whom he persuaded to embrace the Catholic faith, and for whom he entertained a lively affection. Moorman, after visiting Paris, died at a very early age, to the profound grief of his friend. It is easy to believe M. Forgues when he says that its memory powerfully affected a man who was not only an ecclesiastic, but possessed keen sensibility and an ardent imagination. Any one acquainted with the feelings of unmarried ecclesiastics is aware of the intense and sometimes apparently ludicrous devotion, with which they cling to the companionship of youths, on whom they can expend their affections without the danger involved in female friendships, and whom they can teach, and, as they hope, improve, in return for the petting and fondling which the young men consent, or are proud, to undergo. The death of a young friend may therefore be, to a man in the position of De Lamennais, very much what the death of a betrothed is to a layman. De Lamennais, however, enjoyed the consolation, such as it was, of being the favourite of a coterie of old De Lamennais was born in 1782, at St. Malo, and was the son earlier and least interesting letters are addressed

The first volume of the most important work of De Lamennais, while he was still an ardent Catholic—his Indifference on Matière de Religion—was published in 1817, and the second volume in 1820. The reception bestowed on the first volume by the Catholics was most enthusiastic, but the second volume suggested Catholics was most enthusiastic, but the second volume suggested the suspicion that its author might prove a dangerous man. It was in fact too Catholic for the Catholics. It put religion and the power of the Church in a light that was too strong to suit the tastes of those who represented the Church in France. The ecclesiastical authorities wished to maintain at once the rule of the elder Bourbons and the prudent independence of the Gallican Church. De Lamennais, directly he really began to think and

to write as he thought, diverged from them on both these points. He was a philosophical democrat, and not only prophesied, but delighted in prophesying, the fall of the Bourbons. He was an Ultramontanist, and thought Gallican independence a very anomalous obstacle to the complete supremacy of a centralized religion. Naturally he hoped the Pope would support him. It seemed reasonable to expect that the Head of the Church would not object to having his authority exaggerated. And at first Rome was inclined to view him with great leniency, if not encouragement. But the representations of the Gallican clergy were so strong against him that he went to Rome to set his views fairly before Leo XII. It was impossible, however, that peace should long be maintained between him and his adversaries, and his Progress of the Revolution in 1829 brought on him a public condemnation from the Archbishop of Paris. The Revolution of 1830 finally separated him him and his adversaries, and his Progress of the Revolution in 1829 brought on him a public condemnation from the Archbishop of Paris. The Revolution of 1830 finally separated him from Rome. He regarded it as a great opportunity for paving the way to a democracy guided by Catholicism. But at Rome it operated exactly the other way. Gregory XVI. was terrified and dismayed at the success of a movement which he thought inimical to all the interests of religion. The Papacy allied itself more intimately than ever with the party of order. It could not accept any support that seemed tainted with democratical poison, and it looked as an abomination on the free press which De Lamennais regarded as the great engine of reform. He and his opinions were expressly condemned in an encyclical letter from the Pope, and although he went to Rome in company with MM. de Montalembert and Lacordaire, who had been his coadjutors in the establishment of L'Avenir—a paper founded after the Revolution of July, to propagate his opinions—the Pope adhered to his judgment. De Lamennais was rejected by Catholicism, and thenceforward he broke with a religion that would not accept the "logical whole" of his political philosophy. The Paroles d'un Croyant, of which 100,000 copies are said to have been sold in a year, announced to the world that priests as well as kings were the oppressors of mankind. His letters subsequent to that date are rather political than theological. The burthen of them all is, that the Government of Louis Philippe was equally ridiculous and cruel. In 1840 he was condemned to a year's imprisonment for an attack of unusual violence, and thenceforward he chiefly devoted himself to literary labours, of which his Esquisse de Philosophie and his Commentary on Dante are the most remarkable fruits; and, except his contribution to the operations of the Constitutional Committee in 1848, he took no further part in public affairs. He died February 7th, 1854, and, contrary to the habit of most Frenchmen of his cast of mind, he had the r pied when death did not seem near at hand.

THE WORKS OF SHAKSPEARE.

Concluding Notice.

A MERE glance at their respective notes will show that Messrs.

Dyce and Collier belong to the earlier school of Theobald and Capel. Their commentaries are not burdened with antiquarian and Capel. Their commentaries are not burdened with antiquarian rubbish; their care has been principally bestowed on the text of their author; and they have the substantial merit of conciseness and consistency in their explanatory notes. Each of these scholiasts has the virtue of striving rather to make Shakspeare intelligible than to glorify himself. Both have profoundly studied the history of the English language, and Mr. Dyce is not only a philologer, but also a writer of considerable discernment and taste. Yet, though we have no hesitation in assigning to their respective editions of Shakspeare a rank high above any former editions of his works, we can bestow on neither of them unqualified approbation. Mr. Collier appears to us hag-ridden with a notion that the nearer we approach to Shakspeare's time the more certain we shall be to obtain a pure text and sound elucidations. He lacks, too, the fine ear for metrical harmony which an editor of Shakspeare should possess in abundant measure; nor are his philological instincts by any means of a high order. He appears to us a Malone redivivus—equalling him in zeal, industry, and knowledge, but also, like him, void of the feeling for poetry which a commentator on poetry should possess.

He appears to us a Malone redivirus—equalling him in zeal, industry, and knowledge, but also, like him, void of the feeling for poetry which a commentator on poetry should possess. Mr. Dyce, on the other hand, is crippled by a spirit of fear. He hesitates to adopt the most obvious corrections of his author's text, from a dread of rash innovation. He does not, indeed, say to the first folio, as Mr. Charles Knight does, "Be thou the law," or to the quartos, "Be ye my prophets;" but he treads with undue timidity, and sometimes with unreasoning faith, in the track of Steevens; and when he tenders a good reading in his notes, too generally excludes it from his text.

To both these recent editors we have a more serious objection to make than rash innovation or servile scrupulousness. "Is there no manners left among maids," says Autolycus, "is there not milking time, when you are going to bed, or kiln hole, to whistle off these secrets; but you must be tittle-tattling before all our guests?" Why should commentators obtrude on the reader their personal differences? Why should "Dares beat Entellus black and blue," with the public looking on both with indifference, or hallooing them on with delight? It is a strange inconsistency that the "gentle" Shakspeare—"gentle" being the constans epitheton applied to him by his contemporaries—should provoke in scholars and gentlemen the angry passions of Scaliger

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and Scioppius. Mr. Dyce and Mr. Collier fight over the body of Shakspeare as the Greeks and Trojans fought over the corpse of Patroclus, and some scores of pages are abused by a squabble which neither elucidates their author nor instructs the reader. That Mr. Dyce has exercised an excess of caution in sparing many of the received readings of former commentatives are agreed.

That Mr. Dyce has exercised an excess of caution in sparing many of the received readings of former commentators appears in nearly every one of the Plays which he has edited. With immense wealth of Shakspearian lore, he seems incapable of applying it. He is ever suggesting what is good in his notes, and retaining what is bad in his texts. Videt meliora probatque—Deteriora tenet. On how sandy a foundation rests much of the received text of Shakspeare no one knows better than Mr. Dyce, because text of Shakspeare no one knows better than Mr. Dyce, because no one has more diligently explored its origin and progress. The earlier impressions of the poet unfortunately came out in an age of remarkably careless printing, as the following examples in a matter even more serious than the readings of a Drama will show. In a Bible printed in the reign of Charles I., the Seventh Commandment stands thus—"Thou shalt commit adultery," and in Psalm xiv. v. 1, "The fool hath said in his heart there is a God." In the Bible of 1653 is read (1 Corinthians, ch. vi. v. 9) "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall inherit the kingdom of God;" and in Psalm lyii. second verse, the compositor sets up and in Psalm lvii. second verse, the compositor sets up-

That all the earth may know The way to worldly wealth—

That all the earth may know The way to worldly wealth—

the proper word being "Godly." Nor are compositors in later times always more heedful. In a quarto Prayer Book, printed in 1813, we meet with the following blunder amid the brief petitions following the Litany, "O Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the Lord"—not all the king's printers nor all the king's men perceiving that world was thus transfigured. Would Mr. Dyce, were he editing the Liturgy, assign in his notes cogent reasons for preferring right to wrong in these cases, and yet leave the wrong in possession of the text because it had escaped the eyes or commended itself to the taste of some liturgical Farmer or Steevens? Or, if he had met, as Southey did, with such a portentous personal name as "Mules Quince," would he content himself with suggesting "Montesquieu," and permit Mules to plead his claim to "uti possidetis?"

Again, in a small quarto volume printed in 1699, containing transcripts of Bacon's Essays, we meet with precisely such errata as vex the spirits of readers of Shakspeare. E. g., at page 75 is printed "young men are . . . fitter for new frolicks than settled business"—where the right word is "projects." At page 78 we are told that "in beauty that of defect and gracious motion is more than that of favour"—where the true reading is "decent;" and at page 83 it is said that "it is a strange desire, to seek poverty, and to lose liberty," whereas it is power which they seek. No one could perceive more acutely than Mr. Dyce that "projects," "decent," and "power" are respectively what Bacon wrote, while no one would more reluctantly replace them in the text, especially if he had found them recommended by a MS. corrector.

We can afford space for very few examples of this editor's unwillingness to change the conjectural text of Shakspeare. The first shall be from Julius Casar, Act iv. scene 3:—

I shall be glad to learn of noble men.

I shall be glad to learn of noble men.

"The text," Mr. Collier remarks, "has hitherto been thus printed; but who has referred to noble men?" Cassius said:

I am a soldier, I, Older in practice, abler than yourself.

Brutus, therefore, ought to retort the word Cassius had employed. Cassius did not say that he was a "noble," or even a nobler man, but an "abler" soldier; and in the corr. fo. 1632; "noble" is struck out, and "abler" most properly substituted. The old printer composed "noble" instead of "abler." On this note Mr. Dyce observes:—"Mr. Collier's MS. corrector, having an eye to what Cassius has said a little before"—

Older in practice, abler than yourself, To make conditions—

substitutes "of abler men." "But the old reading is not to be displaced;" says Mr. Dyce, although in the note immediately preceding he sanctions the echoing by Cassius of the word "bay" used by Brutus. "I shall be glad to learn of noble men," is comparatively poor, tame, and inconsistent with the excited language of the passage in which it stands; whilst "abler" preserves the angry spirit of retort, and restores the verse to a level with the context.

On the lines in Macbeth (Act iii. sc. 2) :-

Light thickens: and the crow Makes wing to the rooky wood.

Makes wing to the rooky wood.

Mr. Dyce, citing with approbation the words of the Rev. J. Mitford, says, that the passage simply means, "the rook hastens its flight to the wood, where its fellows are already assembled: and to our mind the term 'rooky wood' is a lively and natural picture." But we, on our part, ask for an authority for the word rooky. By what analogy is it formed? adult of "larky," "sparrowy," "swallowy?" Does not the very solitude of the flight ("the crow") show it to have been the carrien crow, not the gregarious rook? "Rooky," says Mr. Dyce, "means first reeky or damp." It is still used in that sense in the eastern counties, where men who rise betimes to field abours call a misty morning a roky morning (rauch), and damp abours call a misty morning a roky morning (rauch), and damp

foggy weather "a roky time." We are glad, however, that Mr. Dyce retains in the same Play the established reading—

What beast was't then That made you break this enterprise to me?

in preference to the "what boast" of Mr. Collier's MS. corrector, which we regret that Mr. Kean sees fit to adopt in representa-

In Measure for Measure (Act iii. seene 1), Mr. Dyce judiciously accepts Warburton's suggestion, confirmed by the "corrector"—

The priestly Angelo

where the folio reads "Prenzie," strangely applauded by Mr. C. Knight—where "princely" and "precise" have been proposed with some show of likelihood, and where some commentators have imagined all kinds of hideous readings. But Mr. Dyce's courage presently fails him, and in spite of Mr. Collier's sensible emendation of priestly garb, supported by Lucio's remark, "Cucullus non facit monachum, honest in nothing but his clothes" (Act v. sc. 1), he keeps to "priestly guards."

In conclusion, we must say a few words on the MS. corrector who so frequently offends the nostrils of Mr. Dyce, but whose emendations play so important a part in Mr. Collier's revision of the text of Shakspeare. The discovery of these written emendations in a copy of the folio of 1632 opens a new epoch in Shakspearian criticism, of which the first fruits only are yet apparent. At present it has not borne anything sweet to the taste and little that is good for food, but has kindled in editors and critics of the day the acrimonious spirit of George Steevens. At the moment of discovery Mr. Collier was too much elated by it, and exacted from his brethren of the guild a homage which they were not inclined to pay. Time and reflection, however, have "changed his hand and checked his pride," and in his recent edition of the poet he rarely abuses the good fortune that put those MS. corrections in his hand. Mr. Dyce has abated none of his earlier hostility to the anonymous annotator—much, in our opinion, to the detriment of his own "celectic text." He reverses the parhostility to the anonymous annotator—much, in our opinion, to the detriment of his own "eelectic text." He reverses the partiality of the lover-

He has no faults, or I no faults can spy; He is all beauty, or all blindness I—

He is all beauty, or all blindness I—
and says that nearly all is barren from Dan to Beersheba in these
marginal scholia. To an annotator more intent upon his author's interests than his own, they are invaluable both for what
they set right and what they make or leave amiss; and we are
more disposed to condone Mr. Collier's joy in his acquisition
than Mr. Dyce's general depreciation of it. We understand
that this controversy is shortly to be tried over again, and we
therefore reserve further dissection of its merits to another occasion; yet we cannot conclude our remarks on these Montagu
and Capulet editors of Shakspeare, without reminding our readers
of the real kind and value of these MS. corrections.

However far removed the "corrector" may be from the
genuine text as contained in the author's fair manuscript, he at
least stands nearer to the autograph than any conjectural emen-

However far removed the "corrector" may be from the genuine text as contained in the author's fair manuscript, he at least stands nearer to the autograph than any conjectural emendator from the days of Rowe to the present hour. There is little or no appearance of his having used conjecture at all—on the contrary, there are many tokens of his having recorded facts. It is by no means impossible, so mechanically does he go to work in supplying stage-directions, correcting compositors' blunders, and redressing transpositions of words and lines, that he may have seen the copies in use at the theatres early in the 17th century—that he may have heard some of the original actors in the Shakspearian dramas declaim, or at least may have gathered from very early tradition the verba ipsissima that Burbage, Louin, and Taylor uttered. His emendations are alleged to be upwards of 20,000 in number. A large proportion of them are of the simplest, and, therefore, of the most acceptable kind, since they demand little faith, and involve little disturbance of the received readings. The change of a stop, the substitution of a word which makes sense for a word which perplexes the sense of a passage, the restoration of a transposed line, are often all that the corrector attempts to do. Many of these alterations anticipate the suggestions of the saner and shrewder critics; some of them suggest readings wholly new; some point to unsuspected corruptions; some—and these rather confirm than derogate from the fidelity of the commentator—are clearly wrong; and all speak to the fact that some positive acquaintance with documentary evidence long irreparably lost was possessed by the "corrector." Mr. Collier, indeed, has gained small credit by his unlooked for ally. Had he lived two centuries ago, and brought the Turk into Christendom, he could hardly have incurred more odium than the discovery of the annotated folio has brought upon him. Some years ago he was accused of forging these "MS. corrections," and, under the presentation of a nominis

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with the popularity of his plays whenever a manager puts his hand earnestly to the work of representing them, is a proof that a taste for the highest order of dramatic art flourishes under Queen Victoria as well as under Queen Elizabeth.

Shakspeare still needs such an editor as Porson was to Euripides. It is not necessary that he should undertake the task of revising the entire body of the Shakspearian drama. It would be sufficient were he to reconsider and settle the text of some four or half-dozen of the plays. Exorietur aliquis, we are persuaded, who, taking the labours of Knight, Collier, and Dyce into the hollow of his hand, will one day establish and purify the text—settle the vexed questions of meaning and metre, with the precision of Porson in the case of the Hecuba and Medea—and, having thus furnished a sample of a just method of revision, hand over to future Monks and Elmsleys the then easier task of a complete edition. Such an editor must, however, combine in himself qualities which no Shakspearian scholar has hitherto displayed. He must blend with the caution and accuracy of Mr. Dyce the extensive reading and unwearied diligence of Messrs. Knight and Collier. To these gifts he must add the fine sense for metrical harmony, the subtle appreciation of poetic thought, which existed so remarkably in Coleridge. We know of one person alone competent to this high office, the accomplished editor of the Literary Works of Shakspeare's greatest contemporary, Francis Bacon.

PRAIRIE FARMING IN AMERICA.*

Elterary Works of Shakspeare's greatest contemporary, Francis Bacon.

PRAIRIE FARMING IN AMERICA.*

MR. CAIRD'S observations on the capabilities of the great Mississippi Prairie will be recognised as interesting and valuable by many readers. It is not requisite, in order to derive profit or satisfaction from their perusal, that you should be an intelligent young farmer with a small capital in hand, and with no objection to emigrate in search of cloworoom. Those who have the most firm intention to remain at home are perhaps the most deeply interested in the discovery of channels by which the overflow of population may be carried away on the easiest and most profitable terms. While our national consumption disposes in one day of the year's crop of ten thousand acres of foreign land, in addition to our home growth, we have the strongest inducement to persuade our healthy young men to go and grow corn for us in the most fertile and cheapest of fields. A country within fourteen days travel from Liverpool, to be reached at a cost of 71. a head, where the fee simple of a virgin soil is to be purchased for 21. or 32. an acre—with railways which bring the farmer's produce within easy reach of such a market as will enable him in two years to replace his capital spent in purchasing, stocking, and clearing—is an encouraging pis aller to lay before the eyes of enterprising younger sons not addicted to the learned professions. The picture is drawn not by a smart Eden land-agent or speculator, in the hope of taking in unwary Britishers, but by an eminent English agriculturist. Nor is the reader invited to place a blind faith in Mr. Caird's conclusions. They are given in such a form as to show the exact amount of personal knowledge and local experience from which they spring: and the steps in his calculations are in general easy and obvious enough for the most ordinary intellect to follow. And, as far as we can judge, no element in the purely economical aspect of the question has been misstated or forgotten. A consideration of

are needed before the solitary settler can put in his first crop of corn on his first cleared patch of six or seven acres. In some situations, free grants of a hundred acres are made to emigrants, on condition of their bringing twelve acres under cultivation within four years. The condition, as Mr. Caird remarks, is probably a reasonable measure of what can be done within that period by one man and his family. Where the land is acquired for nothing, the cost of production and the delay in waiting for the first return are not such as necessarily to deter settlers from undertaking the task, and persevering until they are rewarded with success. But for good land in the more favourable localities, even before clearing, as much as 5l. or 6l. an acre is asked. It is difficult for the Canadian backwoods, under such conditions, to rival the attractions of the Mississippi prairies, which offer the emigrant a cheaper freehold, and require less labour before yielding a profitable return. Highly improved land in Western Canada was valued last year from 15l. to 20l. an acre; while in the centre of the State of Illinois, the best land in actual cultivation may be purchased for 10l. In fact, the prairie farm, with equal facilities of communication, and superior fertility, is to be bought for less than the cost of clearing the forest farm of its timber. Another obvious permanent advantage possessed by the prairie farmer lies in the cheapness of ox and horse labour. Manual labour is estimated at double its English cost in Illinois; and there is no difference in the facility of its supply to render it cheaper in the Canada back settlements. But the power of unlimited grazing on the prairie in the summer, and feeding on prairie hay in the winter, lowers the expense of maintaining working cattle so greatly as to bring the average cost of the labour of production within the English rate. The Canadian farmer has no such opportunity of making up the leeway lost by the dearness of his manual labour.

It is almost with a feeling of sat

the dearness of his manual labour.

It is almost with a feeling of satisfaction that we welcome Mr. Caird's confession that it is possible to go ahead too fast even in Illinois. It is notorious that the development of railway accommodation has so far outrun the actual necessities of the traffic of the country as to have disappointed those who looked for an immediate profit on the capital sunk in railway construction. But for such as can afford to wait, there is no doubt that the carrying trade of the prairies must in the end prove a paying security; and those who cannot afford to wait have no right to invest money in the railroads of a new country. Where not the carrying trade of the prairies must in the end prove a paying security; and those who cannot afford to wait have no right to invest money in the railroads of a new country. Where not only the channel of communication has to be made, but the traffic which is to flow along its course has to be created, there are two contingencies of which the speculator has to take the chance for one in the more advanced stage of civilization where the circulation of produce is already going on through existing channels. Produce must be grown before it can be circulated. Those who make provision for its circulation before it is grown are lending on the strength of the future resources of the State, with a judgment which more or less time is required to justify. Many circumstances may modify the apparent rashness of counting your chickens before they are hatched; but in all cases alike you must be prepared to wait until the natural date for hatching the chickens. The evil of excessive speculation, unaccompanied by the necessary patience to wait, has not been confined to the promoters of railways in Illinois. The war-prices of grain in Europe had for two years stimulated immigration from Canada and the Eastern States to an enormous extent. The hope of realizing, by a single grain-crop, the purchase-money of the land, induced a more reckless spirit of overbuying their means among the new settlers. The war prices dropped, as is well known, so suddenly as to produce commercial litigation between shippers and consignees in every Court between the Black Sea and the Mississippi. And in the next year the Western States were visited at once by a money panic and by a season of extraordinary unhealthiness and sterility. Colonists of two years' standing, who had brought large hopes and small means to the land of promise, found themselves at once ill and impoverished, if not ruined. At the time of Mr. Caird's visit, in the autumn of 1858, this discouraging run of ill-luck had just produced its full effect in the distance. The tide of immig moral drawn by Mr. Caird is such as might be expected from his general confidence in the resources of the country—that the present is a most favourable time for commencing to farm in Illinois. "The panic of 1857 has not yet been forgotten, and the prices at which every sort of contract (building, fencing, ploughing) may be executed, are 50 per cent. below the average

rates."

Until the railroad from Chicago to Cairo opened to the Illinois corn-growers markets on Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, the raising of stock was the most natural and profitable business of the prairie farmer. The monied men of Illinois are still in general the cattle breeders; and they have sense and energy enough to spare no pains in improving their stock by the infusion of English blood. Mr. Caird saw at a Springfield cattle-show a short-horned bull bred by Lord Ducie, and heard of one for which 500l. had been paid in England. The natural grass of the prairies, which, though succulent and nutritious in the spring and summer, is too coarse in the autumn for cattle in good conand summer, is too coarse in the autumn for cattle in good condition, gives way by degrees under close feeding to the blue grass of Kentucky (*Poa pratensis*) and white clover. But the quickest, and now the most generally adopted method of improving the prairie pasture, is to break it up for a short course of cropping

^{*} Prairie Farming in America. By James Caird, M.P. London: Long-ans. 1859.

with grain, and then to sow the land with the grasses in question. For those who prefer sheep-farming, there is an equal opening. Under a system of six months' feeding on the open prairie, and six in the enclosed winter pastures, a flock of merinos imported from the State of New York has been found to increase one-fourth in weight and size. The climate and soil of Illinois are fourth in weight and size. The climate and soil of Illinois are thought by the most experienced sheepowners to suit the merino better than the Southdown breed. Not less pains have been taken than in the case of the cattle to improve the form of the sheep by importing the purest European blood. According to the information received from one of Mr. Caird's most trusted authorities, good merinos are to be bought in flocks on the prairie at 8s. to 12s. 6d. a-head. The fleece weighs from four to five pounds, and the wool sells for 1s. 8d. to 2s. a pound. With a crop of clover hay, of two tons an acre, to be mown twelve successive years after one sowing off land that has never been manured except by the winter feeding, and with no epidemic to successive years after one sowing off land that has never been manured except by the winter feeding, and with no epidemic to be feared among the flocks, the returns from this branch of farming must be regular and profitable. Mr. Caird gives in a single sentence an enticing hint of the prospects of a dairy-farmer. "He can sell his cheese on the spot at 42s. a cwt., which is not far short of the average price realized by dairy-farmers in Scotland, where the rent is higher than the price of land in Illinois."

Mr. Caird appears to have undergone his own little experience of losing his way on the prairie. It is worth quoting, not as a deeply interesting adventure, but as characteristic of the scenery in which an English M.P. in search of statistics may find himself within a fortnight of the close of the session:—

Within a fortnight of the close of the session:—

After driving a few miles through the inclosed farms which surround the town, we reached the open unbroken prairie, and turning short off the track on which we had hitherto been driving, we stood across the great plain which stretched out before us. The horses struck without hesitation into the long coarse grass, through which they pushed on with very little inconvenience, although it was in many places higher than their heads. It was not thick, and parted easily before them; then sweeping under the bottom of our waggon, it rose in a continuous wave behind us as we passed along. The surface of the ground was firm and smooth. We had fixed our eye on a grove of timber on the horizon as our guide, and drove on for about an hour in a straight line, as we believed, towards it. But stopping now and then to look at the soil and the vegetation, we found that the grove had disappeared. Without knowing it, we must have got into a hollow; so we pressed on. But after two hours' steady driving, we could see nothing but the long grass and the endless prairie, which seemed to rise slightly all round us. I advised the driver to fix his eye upon a cloud right ahead of us, the day being calm, and to drive straight for it. Proceeding thus, in about half-an-hour we again caught sight of the grove, still very distant, and the smart young American driver "owned up" that he had lost his way. We had got into a flat prairie about five miles square; one of the horses stepped a little quicker than the other, and we had been diligently driving in a circle for the last two hours.

The traditional Indian habit of setting fire to the prairie grass The traditional Indian habit of setting fire to the prairie grass year after year has been the best imaginable preservative of the virgin virtues of the soil for its destined European owners. The successive vegetations of hundreds or even thousands of years, returned entire in the form of ashes to the ground of originally great fertility from which they sprung, have left "a rich black mould with sufficient sand to render it friable, the surface varying in depth from twelve inches to several feet, lying on a rich but not stiff yellow subsoil, below which there is generally blue clay." A comparative analysis made for Mr. Caird by Professor Voelcker, of four different samples of prairie soil, bears out, in the proportions of their general ingredients, their character for fertility. of four different samples of prairie soil, bears out, in the proportions of their general ingredients, their character for fertility, and discloses a percentage of nitrogen almost double of that found in the most fertile British earths. Mr. Caird calculates, that of this constituent the ordinary layer of prairie soil contains a sufficient amount for the production of more than a hundred heavy wheat crops. But the extraordinary richness in ammonia is in itself a danger in regard of wheat cultivation, from forcing the summer growth too rapidly. The scientific remedy appears to lie in the use of lime, of which there is a deficiency in the composition of the prairie soils. As this cure is within the reach of the Illinois farmer, from the abundance of procurable lime, and the ease of carriage, it is probable that the wheat crop will before long be less precarious on the prairie. But for ease of cultivation and harvesting, as well as for certainty of yield, Indian corn will for some time continue the favourite staple of the cultivation and harvesting, as well as for certainty of yield, Indian corn will for some time continue the favourite staple of the settler. It is his simplest and surest provision for his first winter. He plants the first broken ground by dibbling the seed with his axe into the rough sod once turned over by the plough. It is never in a hurry. "It can be cut at any time after it is ripe, and takes no injury by standing either uncut or in the shock, for many weeks." It is the easiest of corn to shell, and it yields as much as a hundred bushels an acre. Two men and a boy with four horses can till a hundred acres. Its average price of late years in Chicago has been 1s. 8d. a bushel.

We adverted to the possibility of social drawbacks existing in

price of late years in Chicago has been 1s. 8d. a bushel.

We adverted to the possibility of social drawbacks existing in reduction of all this Arcadian prosperity. There can be no doubt that even in the most pastoral or bucolic districts a stranger must take care to keep his eye skinned. Mr. Caird gives an elaborate description of the "Shin-plaister" or "Wild Cat" system of banking, as still practised in the Western States, though "of course utterly discountenanced by all bankers of standing and respectability." It is sufficient to observe that the first soubriquet probably denotes the extreme intrinsic value of the paper to its unfortunate holder, while the second implies the mental agility of circulating notes from a bank of issue in some undiscovered region of the wilderness, to whose bourne no issued note can ever return. He also quotes a report given him by a Yankee can ever return. He also quotes a report given him by a Yankee fellow-traveller of a singular case of pleading the custom of the

country, which exemplifies the dangerous legal smartness of the American mind :-

"Two steamers were racing on the Mississippi. A passenger was seen—
both made for him. A plank was shot ashore from the foremost boat, and he
stepped on to it. But they were in such a hurry that they drew in the plank,
and threw him into the river. An action was raised, and the owners of the
boat pleaded 'custom.' But the judge held that a contract to 'carry' could
not be fulfilled by throwing a man into the water, notwithstanding custom."

"Was the man drowned?" said I.

"No: but he war darn't near't."

After all, the custom pleaded was not much more regardless of private feelings, (and apparently not legally much more dubious) than the one held up so recently by the Lord Chief Justice of England for the consideration of the latest invincible set of jurymen, who couldn't agree not to differ.

RADETSKY.

A FTER the action at Znaym, and the armistice which followed it, the Archduke Charles resigned his command, and at the same time Wimpflen, the chief of the general staff, retired. Field-Marshal Prince Lichtenstein was at once appointed Commander-in-Chief, and by his selection Radetsky was named to the office vacated by Wimpflen. In the state of exhaustion to which Austria was then reduced, it would have been little short of madness to continue the contest with the overwhelming forces of Napoleon. Great sacrifices were inevitable, but there was no alternative. The French troops occupied a large portion of the richest provinces of the empire—there was no money in the treasury—there were no supplies for what remained of the army. Radetsky was among those who advised a peace at any price. He felt that it could only be a truce, but he saw that the best that could be done was to gain time for the formation of a new army, and for the accumulation of military resources. The peace was concluded, and Radetsky occupied the post of chief of the general staff. Instead of holding a command in the field, he now became an administrator. His task was no doubt a hard one—difficulties surrounded him on every side. The war administration at Vienna was a complicated system of machinery which had uniformly broken down in war, and did not work very successfully in peace, if anything was required to be done. Added to this, the state of the finances made it very difficult for the Government to find sufficient funds to reorganize properly the army, even up to the numbers which Napoleon had prescribed for the military establishment of Austria. It would seem, however, that Radetsky never lost heart or despaired of the final result, but, so far as his powers extended, was employed constantly in training the officers of his department, in introducing improvements, and in preparing for a struggle which his practical sagacity told him could not be far distant. Whatever may have been the feelings of the Court of Vienna after the French marriag

Austrian Government was guided throughout that eventful crisis.
Whilst the Court of Vienna was offering its mediation, military
preparations were actively pushed forward, till at length an army
was brought together which permitted Austria to throw her sword into the scale.

sword into the scale.

When the army of observation was first formed in Bohemia, Radetsky was appointed to the command of a division. But it was soon perceived that to employ him in such a capacity was to place in a comparatively obscure position one from whom the greatest things were to be expected. He was therefore made Chief of the General Staff—or, as it used to be called in our own service, Quartermaster-General—to Schwartzenberg, in which capacity he served during the Leipsic campaign and the subsequent advance of the Allies upon Paris. Throughout that time

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he was in a position scarcely less responsible than that of the Commander-in-Chief, and it is easy to understand how great must have been the difficulties to be overcome, not only in the field, from having to direct the movements of a newly-raised and ill-supplied force, but from the confusion in the camp of the Allies, and the want of combination in their military operations. With Royal personages pretending to command their own armies—with bitter jealousies between the troops and commanders of the different nations—with constant changes of plans, and anvariable delay in carrying out any one of them—it was a hard and dispiriting time for the scientific soldiers who were really in earnest about their work. But throughout all these difficulties the Chief of the Austrian Staff only increased his reputation. The success of the Austrian troops at Brienne was achieved under his personal command, and he was recognised on all sides as one of the first officers that had been produced by the long and obstinate struggle with France. Honours and decorations were showered upon him, and as soon as the news arrived of the return of Napoleon from Elba, his services were again put into requisition. He was first dispatched on a military mission to Italy, to concert with the Austrian commanders the plan of operations in that country. He then resumed his former post under Prince Schwartzenberg, whom he joined at Heilbronn, where a final conference on the plans of the campaign was being held by the Duke of Wellington, the Prince, and the Russian general, Barclay—the place in which, more than a century before, Marlborough and Prince Eugene had concerted a plan of operations.

The rapid conclusion of the campaign by the English and

need by the Duke of Wellington, the Frince, and the Russian general, Barclay—the place in which, more than a century before, Marlborough and Prince Eugene had concerted a plan of operations.

The rapid conclusion of the campaign by the English and Prussian troops in Flanders left nothing to be done by the rest of the allied armies. Radetsky returned to Vienna, and was re-instated as head of the department of the general staff. But he quickly began to find himself uncomfortable in that office. He was a zealous military reformer, and now that the danger was over, there was little disposition to listen to his suggestions. After a year spent in vain efforts to introduce changes which he deemed essential for the improvement of the Austrian army, he solicited a removal from a post which he felt to be now unfitted for him. He was subsequently appointed to a divisional command, and was then sent to Ofen, to act as deputy to the Archduke Ferdinand, the Commander-in-Chief in Hungary. That appointment was far from grateful to him. He was condemned to routine duties which to a man of his habits and ability afforded no sufficient occupation, and, at the same time, he knew that there was work worthy of him to be done in the Austrian army, which, by the force of circumstances and the operation of personal influences, he had been prevented from doing. It is the common fate of men whose views go beyond the immediate necessities of the moment, to see their advice, the fruit of long experience, superciliously rejected by official departments, and to find that their counsels are only listened to when the apprehension of great dangers overrules official obstructiveness. Such in a remarkable degree was the lot of Radetsky. At a time when he was pre-eminently fitted for the most important post in the service of the Emperor, when his activity was as yet unimpaired by the advance of age, when he united vigour and ability with a long and ripe experience of war, he was shelved in employments of little more than a formal character, and wa

the general opinion—that he had for ever retired from active service.

But after the Revolution of July the Austrian Government concentrated considerable masses of troops in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, of which Frimont was Commander-in-Chief. At the earnest request of that officer, Radetsky was ordered to Italy, where at no great distance of time he succeeded to the chief command. It was then that he converted the Imperial army in Italy into a school of military instruction, and not only brought the troops under his command into the highest state of efficiency, but gave to all under him a practical and scientific training which has been invaluable to the corps of Austrian officers. His army was annually manœuvred on the great battle-fields of Lombardy, and the utmost attention was paid to the instruction of regimental officers and men. So much activity naturally provoked considerable opposition, but the Field-Marshal succeeded at length in overcoming the obstacles thrown in his way. When the moment of danger arrived, though wanting the numbers necessary to combat the Italian insurrection and the Sardinian invasion, he could at least reckon with certainty on the skill and devotion of the generals and officers under his command.

There seems no reason to doubt that, in the middle of the year 1847, Radetsky discovered the perils which menaced the Austrian dominion in Italy. Reinforcements were urgently demanded, but a very small addition was made to the available resources of the Field-Marshal, for the Government at Vienna could not be brought to appreciate the true character of the crisis. When the insurrection broke out at Milan, the number of the troops which could be employed in its suppression, without denuding the fortresses, was utterly insufficient, and the probability of an irruption of the Fiedd-Marshal to withdraw his troops from Milan and retire upon the fortresses. Venice as well as Milan was lost, There seems no reason to doubt that, in the middle of the year

the Italian regiments were greatly weakened by desertion, and the state of things at Prague, at Vienna, and at Pesth, afforded little hope that sufficient reinforcements could be sent to the peninsula. It was not till the month of May that the Field-Marshal was strong enough to assume the offensive, when there followed the succession of brilliant actions which led to the complete discomfiture and flight of the Piedmontese invaders. It was the turning point in the greatest crisis in the history of Austria. The rebellious provinces were recovered, and the empire was saved. The highest eulogies have been pronounced by military critics upon the conduct of that campsign. So long as the Austrians were compelled to remain upon the defensive, their discipline and their morale remained unshaken in spite of the difficulties which appeared on every side; and when the time for action arrived, a series of masterly maneources accomplished the destruction of the enemy, and re-established the Austrian rule in the Lombardo-Venetian provinces. The following year brought new laurels to the Imperial arms, and again at Novara the strategical superiority of the Austrian commander, combined with the steady galiantry of the troops, inflicted a signal chastisement upon the army of Charles Albert. Both campaigns were eminently glorious to the Austrian position in Italy had been selected so as to render it possible to hold the country in the event of a sudden attack by a preponderating force. In truth, with the works of Verona and Mantua and the smaller fortresses. Austria has a nearly impregnable position. Reinforcements can be thrown into Italy either by the passes of the Styrian Alps, which are now traversed by a railroad, or by the Brenner Pass, which immediately connects Verona with the Tyrol and with the immense military force always kept by Austrian the Vorarlberg; and unless she be simultaneously attacked on the Moravian frontier or on the line of the Danube, her position in Italy is one which may be long and successfully defende

POPLAR HOUSE ACADEMY.

T may perhaps have occurred to some of our readers to wonder, as we have often wondered ourselves, what sort of a tale that would be which should aim at depicting the quiet course of an ordinary life. The outer surface of such a life is calm, dull, and uninteresting enough to those who look on it from without, and see nothing of the strong tides of feeling, the violent under-currents of passion, that are at work beneath. It is not strange, therefore, that practised writers should feel it far more easy to draw on their imagination for stirring incidents, intricate "situations" and romantic scenes—that tales professedly "of real life" should be so rare as they are, and that those who do attempt to write them should crowd into one life, or fraction of a life, the adventure and romance of twenty. To each of us, probably, there occur some one or two incidents, between sixteen and sixty, interesting enough to furnish a readable chapter; but none of us have lived a three-volume novel, and all of us would have been sorry to do so. And yet,

^{*} Poplar House Academy. By the Authoress of "Mary Powell." Lon-Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1859.

though real life seems unable to furnish interest enough for a fiction, it has so keen an interest of its own that that of fiction palls ere we have advanced far in our own history; and with each year added to our age, we find that the best novels become less and less absorbing, as we gain more insight into the real interests around and within us. It has sometimes surprised us, then, to find how seldom any novelist attempts to win the public ear to a tale of such incidents and interests as are familiar to us all—a tale from those "short and simple annals" which contain the events which have most moved us, and display the characters of such men and women as those who daily pass us in the street, or kneel beside us in the church. And when such an attempt is or kneel beside us in the church. And when such an attempt is made, it is evident that the author feels it impossible to carry it out; and the smooth and even tenour of his volumes is ere long disturbed by some strange or startling occurrence, which, if it relieves their dulness, deprives them of the pretensions to simplicity and truthfulness with which they opened. Generally, too, such stories are dull—wanting alike the entertainment of fiction and the solid value of biography—dull to a degree of vapidity which compels us in utter weariness to abandon them half-read. We have often thought that this ought not to be—that even in the ordinary lives of persons interesting by no remarkable quality of heart or mind. that this ought not to be—that even in the ordinary lives of persons interesting by no remarkable quality of heart or mind, there is often enough to supply material for a tale well worth our listening to, if it were but well told. The career of the honest, hard-working son of an artisan or peasant, who has worked his way to the rank of a successful merchant—of the young girl whose talent and industry, well used and well directed, have saved herself from ruin, and dependent relatives from destitution—however little of romantic adventure there may have been in either might yet afford the groundwork for an even just a fetion. in either, might yet afford the groundwork for an exquisite fiction, if there be not sufficient record of either to supply more than the meres skeleton of biography. Nay, even in a life subject to no such vicissitudes, imagination can conceive, if personal knowledge does not indicate, ample stores of interesting and valuable experience, which might be made to furnish forth entertainment for an evening's leisure if there were skill and taste to arrange and mould them in a style suited at once to the subject and the purpose. Until now, we have never seen a work of fiction which seemed to deserve the title of a Tale of Real Life; but we must thank the authoress of Mary Powell for having justified, in her present work, our belief that such a tale might be so told as to find many and grateful listeners.

find many and grateful listeners.

About the vraisemblance, simplicity, and reality of the story there can be no question. Its construction—it cannot be said to have a plot—is that of many and many an unwritten biography, and among its readers there will be not a few who will recognise it as little more than a sober and truthful portrait of their own existence. There are many young ladies, doubtless, who remember schooldays spent at Poplar House Academy, and who will feel an interest strongly partaking of personal regard in the humble and varying fortunes of the Misses Middlemass. Those miphle ladies too are familiar to some of us. We have often ber schooldays spent at Poplar House Academy, and who will feel an interest strongly partaking of personal regard in the humble and varying fortunes of the Misses Middlemass. Those amiable ladies, too, are familiar to some of us. We have often met the quiet, shy, and rather nervous eldest, rendered somewhat languid by ill-health, but still useful, gentle, and even-tempered—constantly liable to be overruled and somewhat imperiously treated by younger and more energetic members of the family, but respected withal, and exercising an influence over all their proceedings none the less real because little felt and never seen—calming the passionate, soothing the irritable, and ever ready to assist in repairing the mischief which she has in vain striven to prevent—the type of a sensitive, dutiful, sensible, but not strong—minded old maid. Perhaps no old maid in fiction was ever drawn more lifelike and loveable than Isabella Middlemass. Perfectly natural is the affection manifested by the school-girls for the kindly, housekeeping invalid, who withdrew from the most harassing portions of school discipline and duties, but was ever ready to counsel, and soothe, and sympathize in all their difficulties and troubles. True to life is also the active, energetic, rather too busy and bustling Jacintha—a very necessary personage in all the rough work of teaching and government, for we suppose that even among young ladies the task of education is not altogether smooth and simple—not very amiable, perhaps, and infected with the weakness of despising and shrinking from her vocation, but nevertheless vigorously buckling herself to its duties, and performing them with businesslike strictness and promptitude. Her defects of temper and judgment are precisely those of her class. Women who are capable of hard work and unpleasant offices are generally somewhat disposed to be headstrong and impatient, and physical weakness, borne up by resolute determination, generally imparts a tone of sharpness to their voice, and a shade of harshness to natural to their more Invoured sisters. Most of them share in some degree the impatience and self-will attributed by our authoress to her practical woman of business. The pleasant, lively, good-tempered youngest sister is very prettily drawn, and fits very naturally into her appropriate place. Her relation to the children, her simple and winning manner with them, and her unaffected, informal method of teaching

are lightly and skilfully sketched; and the glimpes into the schoolroom which are allowed to us seem to reveal a pleasing and lifelike interior, broken only by a few interludes of serious trouble and annoyance. There is a hint on household arrangements minute enough for a practical handbook to school-keeping, which reminds us of the one standing charge against young ladies' schools—insufficiency and monotony of diet.—and

keeping, which reminds us of the one standing charge against young ladies' schools—insufficiency and monotony of diet—and adds to the air of real experience which pervades the book, especially that part of it wherein are narrated the purely feminine joys and sorrows which alone could find entrance within the walls of the academy.

In dealing with gentlemen, or what she intends for such, the authoress is less fortunate. There is not one of her masculine characters that deserves either interest or regard; and the two on whom most care and attention are bestowed are simply exaggerated caricatures of a couple of under-bred and overgrown schoolboys. Selfish, good-humoured John Middlemass, who would rather support his sisters than let them want, but who is very glad to avoid the obligation of doing so, though by means of what he considers an occupation rather beneath the dignity of the family, is a tolerably natural and ordinary character. But we see very little of him, and still less of his much more respectable friend, Mr. Mortlake, the lover of Jacintha, disgusted by her prevarication in regard to her schoolmistress-ship, and not reconciled to her until the end of the book. The disgusted by her prevarication in regard to her schoolmistresship, and not reconciled to her until the end of the book. The most prominent male personage in the volumes is Marian's admirer, Mr. Francis Duncan—a young man who in any society at all fastidious would have been eschewed as an impertinent puppy—together with his "shadow," Mr. Jekyl, a coxcomb of much the same species. Young men who play practical jokes on strangers, and lay wagers on their issue—who, for instance, tie boiled crabs to a young lady's hair as she sits reading on the beach—do not, in real life, meet with the favour which Miss Middlemass records herself to have shown them. If the object of their impertinence happened to have a relative of their own of their impertinence happened to have a relative of their own or insertingerunence nappened to have a relative of their own sex within call, the result might probably be exceedingly unpleasant; and we can hardly think that Messrs. Jekyl and Duncan can have gone through life without provoking consequences of a rougher description than those which followed the episode of the

rougher description than those which followed the episode of the crab.

Why the heroes of a lady's novel should almost always be either foolish, priggish, insipid, or coxcombical we cannot understand. But—excepting such rare creations as John Halifax, the Head of the Family, and perhaps Paul Ferroll—such is certainly the case with nine in ten of the favourites of female novelists. It is rather disappointing to find feminine powers of observation so ill seconded by those of comprehension and sympathy as is here the case. Ladies can give admirable imitations of the minutiæ of masculine manners, gait, and language; but the cleverest among them fail, as writers of fiction, to reach much further; and their delineations of masculine character are generally out of drawing and proportion—grotesque, stupid, or contemptible. The latter faults are certainly the more general; and eccentricity seems to be adopted only as a refuge by ladies anxious to avoid the censure of critics thoroughly sick of the insipid heroes of ordinary novels. The authoress of Poplar House Academy evidently intended to describe a lively, lighthearted, gentlemanly pair of youthful friends; but either experience or graphic skill and taste have been lamentably wanting when she produced the two impertinent inanities abovementioned.

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The serious blemish which the absurd episode in which these young gentlemen figure casts upon a book otherwise remarkable for sense and sobriety, is the more to be regretted that it seems Marian do not add in any degree to the interest of the tale, which lies entirely in its simple and homely delineations of middle-class life, under its quietest and least romantic aspects, The authoress appears to have imagined, however, that she was bound to adhere in this matter to the usual practice of novelists. She was not courageous enough to venture upon the eccentricity of a fiction entirely divested of romance and love-making, and of a fiction entirely divested of romance and love-making, and she was not skilful enough to manage a second love story so well as that of Jacintha and her admirer, which is kept in the background with good effect on the naturalness and liveliness of the book. She cannot blend an amatory episode with her pictures of maidenly home life in such style as to produce an harmonious whole. That demands a vividness of fancy and an ingenuity of construction in which she is deficient; and it is a great pity that she should have been induced to disfigure her prettily-painted, "interiors," so modest and truthful, with these unamusing caricatures. Caricature, indeed, is not her forte. All the strongly-marked characters in these volumes are the least natural and pleasing, and those which are intended to call forth a good-humoured smile only incline us—and no others in the story do at all incline us—to be guilty of the rudeness of a yawn.

The style of Poplar House Academy is exactly suited to the matter and to the imaginary narrator—the old-maidenly Isabella. It is plain, unpretending, almost homely, and with such a ten-

matter and to the imaginary narrator—the old-maidenly Isabella. It is plain, unpretending, almost homely, and with such a tendency towards gossip as naturally belongs to the character and the subject. To cite any passage as illustrative would be very difficult and very useless—very much like choosing a brick as sample of a house, in order to attract intending purchasers. To those who read novels for excitement's sake—to relieve them from the listlessness of a day in which they have nothing to do, or to give a pleasing titillation to

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nerves benumbed with ennui—no one can recommend a tale so simple and natural. To them it would be as dull as reality, so simple and natural. To them it would be as dull as reality, and they would never get through the first volume. To those who read "for the story" it will have little attraction; for story "there is none to tell," or next to none. But to those who read it on a quiet evening after a good day's work—to those who read with a sober taste rather than with omnivorous mental appetite—it is likely to prove an agreeable and welcome variety, after the laboured piquancy of more pretentious works. Those who know, by the sad experience of the reviewer, how wearisome a task novel-reading may become, will probably agree with us in wishing that more of the novel-writers of our day were capable of imitating the good taste, simple style, and modest colouring which are the crowning merits of the pictures of English home life contained in these two little volumes.

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MR. OTTO GOLDSCHMIDT'S FIRST MATINEE OF CHAMBER MUSIC, WILLIS'S ROOMS, on MONDAY, April 11th, at half-past Three, at which he will be assisted by M. SAINTON, Signor PLATT, Mr. HOWELL, M. SCHERURS, Mr. S. PRATTEN, Mr. CROZIER, and Mr. C. HARREN. Owing to the approaching dissolution of Parliament, the Concerts announced for May 7th and May 21st are postponed.—Tickets for the First Concert, Reserved Seats, 10s. 6d; Unreserved, 7s.; to be obtained at Mesars. Addison, Hollier, and Lucas's, 210, Regent-street; and at Mr. Mitchell's Boyal Library, 33, 01d Bond-street.

CHRISTY'S MINSTRELS, S.—ST. JAMES'S HALL.—'The celebrated Christy's Minstrels will resume their Popular ENTERTAINMENT on Monday Evening next, April 11, at the St. James's Hall, to be repeated EVERY EVENING at Eight, and SATURDAY MORKINGS at Three o'clock. Admission, 1s.; Area, 2s.; Reserved Seats, 3s. To be obtained at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond-street.

ORATIONS by MR. T. MASON JONES.—WILLIS'S ROOMS.
THIS DAY (Saturday, April 9th), at Half-past Three, will be repeated the Oration on MILTON, THE PATRIOT, STATESMAN, PROSE WRITER AND POET; and on MONDAY EVENING next, April 11th (by Desire), the Oration on CURRAN, AND THE WITS AND ORATORS OF THE IRISH BAR, at Half-past eight o'clock, Subsequent Orations will be given on Edmund Burke, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Charles James Fox, and John Wesley, the dates of which will be duly announced. Stalls (numbered), 5s.; Reserved Seats, 3s.; May be obtained at Mr. Mitchell's Royal Library, 33, Old Bond-street.

MR. CHARLES DICKENS, at ST. MARTIN'S HALL, Longacre.—On WEDNESDAY, in PASSION WEEK, April 20th, 1859, THE
CHRISTMAS CAROL and THE TRIAL FROM PICKWICK. On EASTER
MONDAY, THE POOR TRAVELLER, BOOTS AT THE HOLLY TREE INN,
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GAMP, and THE TRIAL FROM PICKWICK. The Doors will be opened for each
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THE ROYAL ASYLUM OF ST. ANN'S SOCIETY.—
THE REV. J. M. BELLEW, S.C.L., will give a READING from the WORKS of OLIVER GOLDSMITH, with incidents in his Life, at ST. MARTIN'S HALL, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, April 13th.
The Rev. J. M. Bellew has undertaken to procure the admission by purchase into the St. Ann's Society of an Orphan whose Father was unsuccessful in business, and died in January last, leaving a Widow and Ten Children totally unprovided for. The profits will be devoted to this purpose.
Stalls, 4s.; Centre Area and Balconies, 2s.; Back Seats, 1s. To be had at Mitchell's Royal Library, Old Bond-street; at St. Martin's Hall, Long-acre; Mr. Soale's Library, Circus-road, 8t. John's wood; and at Mrs. Ackerman's, 6, Blenheim-terrace, where Plans of the Stalls may be seen.

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THE READER on the LAW of REAL PROPERTY GIVES NOTICE that his LECTURE at Gray's Inn Hall, on FRIDAY, the 15th day of April instant, will be postponed from Two r.m. to HALF-PAST THREE r.m. of that day.

Lincoln's Inn, April 7th, 1859.

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The Nobility, Friends, and Subscribers are respectfully informed that the FORTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY FESTIVAL will be celebrated in Freemasons' Hall on SATURDAY next, the 16th instant, ext, the 16th instant,
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THE ASYLUM FOR IDIOTS.

THE ASYLUM FOR IDIOTS.

Extracts from the Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy,
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the hall generally were very satisfactory.

"We were much pleased by the cleanly and orderly condition of the pupils, and
their cheerful and happy aspect. Their bodily health appeared, with few exceptions,
to be very good. The several rooms also, and the beds and bedding throughout, were
in creditable order.

"We were much pleased by the cleanly and orderly condition of the pupils, and their cheerful and happy aspect. Their bodily health appeared, with few exceptions, to be very good. The several rooms also, and the beds and bedding throughout, were in creditable order.

"We learn with much satisfaction that the House Committee made regular and frequent visits to the Institution, and that the system of treatment has of late been progressively improved; among other things, by greater attention than heretofore being paid to physical and industrial training, and the development of the intellectual, however feeble, faculties of the pupils, by such natural means, in preference to wearying and overstraining them by attempts at too much mental instruction in sechool.

"Upon the whole, we have much satisfaction in recording our opinion, that the Institution generally exhibits marked improvement, and that its present condition and management reflect credit upon the Medical Superintendent, the Steward, and other officers."

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The Board request a perusal of the last Report, which may be had gratuitously on application at the office.

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I have been invited by a requisition, numerously signed, to offer myself as a Candidate for the representation of the University of Cambridge, which, you are aware, will shortly become vacant by the resignation of one of our present members, Mr.

Wigram.

There is but one reply which I can make to so flattering a call, and that is to place myself unreservedly in the hands of the Members of the Senate, and to await their decision.

decision.

With respect to my qualifications, I should for my own part rather appeal to past acts during the three Parliaments in which I have already served, than rest my claim for support upon the extent of my promises for the future. I may, however, assure the Members of the Senate of my earnest attachment to our Constitution in Church

and State.

To democratic change I am steadfastly opposed: while I look to amelioration continuously and prudently applied, as the means by which, under Divine Providence, the body politic may best be kept in order. I deprecate extremes, while in politics and in religion I have always urged the adoption of moderate and tolerant views, convinced as I am that by such methods our State has grown to its present grandeur, and that so long only as it keeps the middle path will it exist prosperous at home and powerful abroad. I have accordingly abstained from binding myself to party organizations.

On the support of candid men of various shades of opinion, who desire to see the University represented by one who would make its business and its interests his own and would watch over its welfare with no conflicting objects to distract his assiduity, I venture to rely for success.

I am, Gentlemen,
With great respect,
Your faithful and obedient servant, Arklow House, Connaught-place, March 29, 1859.

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